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THE STANDARD.

THIRD DECADE

OF THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

CELEBRATION IN PHILADELPHIA.

Phonographically Reported by HENRY M. PARKHURST.

FRIDAY MORNING, Dec. 4.

THE Society assembled promptly, and in the absence of the President, J. M. MCKIM was called to the chair. It being announced that the Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER was present and could remain but a few minutes (being under the necessity of returning immediately to New York), he was invited to address the meeting. Upon coming to the platform he was greeted with enthusiastic cheers.

Speech of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.

It gives me great pleasure to meet you this morning, and none the less because we meet in circumstances of peace and of prosperity. After a long battle, with weapons not carnal but spiritual, it seems as if at last a victory was beginning to dawn upon us. I have lived for more than twenty-five years on faith, and have learned to subsist upon it tolerably well, though I confess that a little sight now and then helps one's faith very much. But there are a great many who have not been able to live on this diet of faith, and now that they are being fed on sight, they are falling into line and beginning to train in the great anti-slavery army.

I do not stand here this morning so much to go into any analysis or measurement of shades of opinion, as to recognize the great services that, for a long period, without weariness, against every human discouragement, have been rendered to the cause of patriotism, of religion, and of humanity, by those that are represented in this Association. There have been, of course, all this time, differences of opinion among the friends of freedom; but I think that all honest men will agree that, for sincerity, profound conviction, heroism, and moral courage, the members and adherents of this Anti-Slavery Society have stood preëminent. And when the history of this struggle shall be written, no inconspicuous place will be given to those that shall then have passed away; and we shall see, what we see in every age of the world, men mobbed when they lived, but splendid tombs built for them when they are dead. But you care little for that. The spirit in which you have worked is one which works for the sake of the work, for the sake of God who inspires it. I doubt not you have taken your remuneration as you went along, and could have afforded to die with your testimony on your lips, without having seen the sight, or, like Moses, having seen it only at a distance. But better things are in store for us. All the signs of the times look as though God meant emancipation in earnest, and meant it now. Whatever may have been men's ideas in respect to immediate emancipation, as the term is usually employed, I think that war has but one doctrine upon the subject, and that we are coming to it—that we, if we live a few years longer, shall see our country disenthralled and uncursed by this monstrous evil, this gigantic iniquity.

Last night Gov. Curtin said that the doctrine enunciated in my remarks, namely, that we had no right to lay down the sword, having taken it up, until we had utterly exterminated the cause of the war, Slavery, was the doctrine of Pennsylvania. Undoubtedly he has been in circumstances to know the pulse and the feeling of this people. North of Pennsylvania I think I may say I know it to be the doctrine of the people. It seems as though, in the Providence of God, the underground work having been done, and the foundation having been brought up to the surface, and the building going up in the sunlight, its proportions of beauty becoming more and more apparent, we can have workmen now whom we could never have invited into the trench under ground. My wish is, more and more, that we should, for the sake of the great cause, lay aside the things in which we differ, and work together for the things upon which we are agreed, God working in us to will and to do of his own good pleasure.

For myself I have vowed that if a man will now set his face towards emancipation, I will never look an inch behind him to see what he thought yesterday or the day before. I will not scan his record unless he becomes a critic of mine. But I will put my shoulder beside the shoulder of any man that will march in the ranks now. I will not ask who shall be leader; only that there shall be a leader, and that he shall lead in the right direction. I only ask to be in the ranks, to work as every other man works, not for himself, not for any party, but for the sake of God and the country, for the cause of Christ as it is embodied and represented in this era of our national history, for the sake of those that are in bondage, and must be in bondage as long as there is a slave in this land; for you are slaves as long as there is a slave; you are bound as long as others are bound. According to the apostolic injunction, every man is in fetters as long as one man is fettered.

I congratulate you this morning. On my return from Europe, after an absence of a few months, I looked for growth, but I hardly knew where were the buds and where the branches. I find the buds branches, and on the branches fruit. It is as if, in the month of May, one should be carried a month to sea, not knowing that he had been gone an hour; when he returns, he finds himself in the bosom of Summer. Things are germinating, and everywhere springing into marvellous growth and fruitfulness.

The last time I was in Pennsylvania, I was escorted into the Hall between files of policemen, who defended my right of speech by the municipal power of the city. Last night, it was not necessary to have policemen. I find myself accepted now by the men that, three years ago, would not have opened their doors to me, nor uttered my name except as an offence. They say I have changed. Very well; let it be so; I am content; I am entirely changed; I have abandoned my old doctrines; I have become conservative; I have smoothed off all the hard edges, and rounded all the corners! They are steadfast and immoveable; they have always been right. Let it go so; I am quite content. I will be considered as having changed every week, as much as you please; only take the principles, only work for the slave, and work in good practical earnest, it is very little matter what men say of you, where they put you, what they call you. It is the cause, and not men, that is important. It is the incarnation of God in our time, the reappearing of Christ in his own providences, the shaking the foundations of things, that they may be moved, which is important. All our personal matters, however strenuous the opposition to us may be, are but chaff, which the wind should drive away. If now the men of wealth, of intelligence, and of standing, in Pennsylvania, are willing to lay one hand on the Bible and the other on the charter of their liberties and say, "Let the oppressed go free," they may call themselves Moses and Aarons from the beginning, and I will never say nay to it.

So, too, in New York, and so in Boston; the leaven is working. Let us then give thanks to God; thanks for the past, that we were permitted to work in it; thanks that we are permitted to live to see the consummation which we expected to see over pearly battlements, but now shall see in the land of the living.

During my visit to England, it was my privilege to address, in various places, very large audiences; and I never made mention of the names of any of those whom you most revere and love, without calling down the wildest demonstrations of popular enthusiasm. I never mentioned the name of Mr. Phillips, or Mr. Garrison, that it did not call forth a storm of approbation. It pleased me to know that those who were least favored in our country were so well known in England. And the name of President Lincoln was never pronounced without a torrent of approbation, even in the stormiest meetings. It is true that a man is not without honor save in his own county; and I felt that I had never had before me, in an audience here, such an appreciation of the names of our early and faithful laborers in this cause as there was in that remote country, among comparative strangers.

I am thankful for the privilege of looking on so many noble and revered faces, and so many young and enthusiastic persons, united together by so sacred a bond as that which unites you. I feel, not that I agree with you in everything, but that I am heart and soul with you in the main end. Toward that end we may take different paths, very likely, but when we come together at the end, we shall all be there. It is the end that crowns the beginning, rather than the beginning the end. I therefore feel that I am honored in being permitted to stand before you this morning, to utter these few words of sympathy and of greeting. Your cause is dear to you—just as dear to me. Your names, honored among yourselves, will never lack some wreaths, if I may be permitted to pluck any to place upon them. I thank God that he called you into existence. An uncanonical Church you are, a Church without ordination, but in my judgment a Church of the very best and most apostolic kind, held together by the cohesion of a rule of faith, and an interior principle. Your ordinances are few and simple, but mighty through God. Your officers are not exactly elected. Whoever has the gifts, and the inspiration behind those gifts, he is your teacher and your leader. That is the truest form of the Church. I stand here in the midst of a part of God's great spiritual, earthly Church, happy to be in your midst, asking the privilege to call myself a brother only, asking the privilege of calling you that are advanced in years fathers and mothers, and asking the privilege also to work according to the light that is given me, and where I differ from you, of having still your confidence that I mean right. I will never work against you, as I never have. I will work with you as far as you will let me; and we shall all be supervised by a higher Love and a diviner Wisdom, and where mistakes are made, they will, after all, work together for the good cause. We shall meet, if not again on earth, in that land where no struggles are needed, where we shall rejoice and give thanks to him who called, and guided, and crowned us with victory.

On motion, by Rev. SAMUEL MAY, Jr., a Committee was appointed to superintend the publication of the Proceedings of this Third Decade Meeting, with authority to incorporate therewith such documents as should seem to them appropriate. The Committee was subsequently named, as follows:—Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Mary Grew, Oliver Johnson, Samuel May, Jr., John T. Sargent.

On motion of STEPHEN S. FOSTER, in view of the large number of persons who desired to address the meeting, speakers were requested not to occupy the floor more than fifteen minutes at a time; and the President was requested to remind each speaker when his time should have expired.

ORSON S. MURRAY of Ohio, one of the signers of the Declaration of Sentiments, occupied fifteen minutes in reading part of a series of resolutions, written by himself, upon which he said he neither asked nor deprecated the action of the meeting. No action was taken upon them.

On motion of EDWARD M. DAVIS, the Hon. HENRY WILSON, U. S. Senator from Massachusetts, was invited to take a seat upon the platform. He was greeted, as he did so, with hearty applause.

A Committee on Finance was appointed, as follows: James N. Buffum, Thomas Garrett, Mahlon B. Linton, Abby Kimber, Aaron M. Powell, Wendell P. Garrison.

Speech of Stephen S. Foster.

It gives me great pleasure, fellow-citizens, to be with you on this occasion. It is one of the most interesting of the whole period of my life. I love to look into the faces of my old and early anti-slavery friends. I have new friends, but they are not like the old friends, the friends of my youth and early manhood. There is no gratification I ever received, or ever expect to receive in this life, so great as that of meeting those with whom I have stood shoulder to shoulder through many a hard fought battle in this and other pro-slavery States of this Union. And yet the pleasure of this meeting is marred by one consideration; and that is that there are two or three million of our countrymen yet clanking their heavy chains. While we are happy, they are sad and sorrowful. While we are free, and protected by the government of our country, they are still struggling in chains! Their fate is yet all uncertain. Their sky of hope is brightening. They are sustained by the faint promises of hope; but still all is uncertain.

I have feared, since I have been with you upon this occasion, that we have become over confident in regard to the success of the movement with which we have so long stood identified. The conviction seems to have become fixed, in the mind of every man in the ranks of the Anti-Slavery Society, that this war is the end of slavery, that we have already given it its death-blow. But so thought the friends of freedom in the Revolutionary War. They settled down in the confident belief that they had given the system a fatal stab, and that they should live to see it quickly pass away; and therefore they thought it unnecessary to incorporate in the Constitution of the country a provision forever prohibiting the toleration of slavery. How much more are we secure now of the abolition of slavery, upon the heels of the war, than were our Revolutionary fathers in their day? Is the country in a better state upon the question of human liberty than it was then? Are we more deeply penetrated by a sense of the sinfulness of slavery than were our fathers? [A VOICE—"Yes."] Why, then, are slaves dragged from the Capital of your country back to their masters in the loyal States of this Union? Why is Abraham Lincoln to-day holding the military and naval power of this land, and shaking it in the very teeth of the slaves of the loyal States of this Union, telling them that if they rise and strike for freedom they shall be crushed with the iron arm? ["He isn't doing it."] Not doing it? Has not he sworn, according to his own idea, to maintain slavery in the loyal States? ["Exactly the contrary."] Has not Hon. B. Gratz Brown told you that the people of Missourri would have abolished slavery but for Federal interference? Where is that sacred regard for constitutional obligation which for years was talked of on this platform? Has Mr. Lincoln said to his agents, "In case the slaves strike for freedom in the loyal States, join them against their loyal masters"? Has the military protection of the slave system in the loyal States been withdrawn?

We assume too much, far more than our *political* friends assume in this matter. The Hon. Senator from Massachusetts on my left (Hon. Henry Wilson) would tell you, if you were to ask his opinion, that Abraham Lincoln to-day holds himself constitutionally bound to maintain the institution of slavery in every loyal State of this Union, as he was in all the States prior to the rebellion; and to the execution of the Fugitive Slave law in the District of Columbia, to-day as much as ten years ago. The Bench of that District, every member of which was appointed by Abraham Lincoln, has allowed slave after slave to be arrested in the District of Columbia and sent into slavery in the State of Maryland.

It seems to me that, in this state of the case, we have no reason to be very confident. If the nation is anti-slavery, why does it not say so? In the name of common sense, when the whole civilized world would applaud the declaration, why do they not say, by some authoritative act, that there shall be no slave on American soil henceforth? Nothing would be easier, nothing better for our cause; nothing would save so much the shedding of human blood as that simple declaration. How can you say the nation wants it done, when the nation will not do it? The President has set free a portion of the slaves—he has abolished slavery nowhere. Where he had not power to give liberty to the slaves in fact, he gave them liberty by law. Where he had power to give them liberty in fact, he did not give them liberty by law. He thus shamefully marred that act, which, if properly done, and placed upon moral grounds, would have sent his name down to posterity beside the name of Willam Lloyd Garrison. But he has declared, from beginning to end, that he has emancipated slaves, in no single instance, because he had any regard for them, but always out of regard for the white man, and for the perpetuity of the Federal government. I would not trust my own, I would not trust anybody's liberty, in the hands of such a government. Never, until I hear the government of the United States pronounce authoritatively in all its departments, executive, legislative, judicial, the fiat which dooms slavery to everlasting perdition, will I lay off my armor. Lay off yours, if you are tired of fighting, if you are weary and care-worn, and feel that you cannot longer carry on the warfare; but I am a veteran soldier; I am here to-day to reënlist for the war; and, God being my helper, not one particle of my armor will I lay aside until the last fetter is broken. Not one jot or tittle of my stern demand for justice will I abate until the nation, as a nation, declares that slavery is forever abolished in this country (applause).

I feel that I ought to speak more strongly to-day than ever before, because the nation is more guilty to-day than ever before. According to their interpretation of the Constitution, never had the nation, until recently, the constitutional power to abolish slavery. To-day it has it, and is therefore the more guilty for not doing it. Never before was the question put directly to the nation, whether it should set free the slaves, and thereby promote universal liberty and end this war, or whether it should hold the slaves still longer, and cause the shedding of oceans more of human blood; for all admit that a proclamation of freedom would help the loyal cause, and bring the war the quicker to a close. There is a double guilt resting upon this Administration; first, for holding the slave in his chains, and secondly, for taking your sons and mine, tearing them away from the peaceful pursuits of home life, to go down to the South and meet the bristling bayonets of Southern rebels. The war might be ended at once by an act of justice. The nation refuses to perform that duty, but chooses rather to murder your sons and mine, and to prolong the bloody strife. The guilt of the nation accumulates every hour that we hold a slave in his chains. God is demanding every day that the oppressed shall go free; and the government says, "No, we will try a little longer; we will not give up yet; we will have more plagues yet before we will let the people go." And we shall have them. Proclaim emancipation to the slaves, to the men whom God appoints as the true soldiers of this land; then, if they fail to do the work, I will volunteer, non-resistant as I am; and I will go down to Carolina and face the rebel armies; with the sword of the spirit, however, and not with the sword of steel. I will lead your armies, if you want them led, unarmed. I will not shrink from my share of the danger. Place me between you and the enemy. Only let me have an army of Liberators, and that is all I ask. I will do all in my power to swell the ranks of the Union army, if you will make the war a war for freedom; but so long as, by the Constitution and the laws of the country, the Executive is compelled to use the army to put down an insurrection in any loyal State of this Union, God forbid that I should enlist, or invite anybody else to enlist. For one, God being my helper, I shall go forward, whoever may falter.

Speech of Charles C. Burleigh.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH said: I doubt not that I speak the sentiment of every friend of our cause when I say, that we are all determined to go forward and not to falter until the last fetter is struck from the limbs of the last slave (applause). It seems to me that the error of our friend Foster is in assuming that his position is actually different from ours upon this point. We agree with him in purpose, and we agree with him mainly in regard to the propositions which he has stated, but dissent from some of the inferences which he draws. When he would exhort us not to be over confident, we would say amen. It is a danger which should always be guarded against. But when he holds up to us, as a reason why we should not be over-confident, what all impartial observers will regard as an exaggerated and disjointed view of the facts of the case, rendering the picture darker than the truth, and making it therefore exert a discouraging rather than an encouraging influence, we dissent from the course which he pursues, and doubt the wisdom of his recommendation. We say, "Do not despair," as well as "Do not be over-confident." We say, Do not regard the difficulties more than they are, nor the progress made less than it is; lest the effect should be to deter some from further effort, from the apprehension that it is altogether in vain that we labor. Looking back upon a thirty years struggle of Abolitionists, who have wielded the weapons of truth, the sword of the spirit, sharper than the two-edged steel, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit and of the joints and the marrow, I say, if they were to be told that we are in a worse position than when we began; that we have not advanced towards the attainment of our great object, but on the contrary have receded and are farther from the end than at the period immediately following the Revolution? Far, very far from that is the truth. We are far in advance of the Revolutionary period. In the first place, accepting the premises upon which all moral enterprises proceed, we should infer that we must have advanced, from the very fact that a handful of faithful men have been laboring for thirty years past, by argument, appeal, persuasion, remonstrance—all the weapons of the moral armory—earnestly and diligently. But what is the fact? Just after the revolutionary period, the best and most clear-sighted anti-slavery men of the country would not have dared to advocate immediate emancipation, would not have dared to inscribe upon their banner immediate and unconditional freedom to the bondman. Is it nothing that we have converted the very best intellect of the country to that doctrine? Is it nothing that, whereas not even the wisest and most just of our fathers imagined it to be practicable, it is now conceded on all hands to be demonstrated as the best course, except by those who are determined to uphold slavery, and the continually diminishing class of conservative politicians, who have been left in the dark because, groping by candle-light before the sun rose, they turned their backs upon the growing dawn, and have forgotten that it is mid-noon?

Moreover, at the time immediately succeeding the Revolutionary period, even those who called themselves anti-slavery men recognized, not the absolute justice of slavery it may be, but a certain sort of right in the masters still to retain their slaves. I wish that I could have foreseen the course of this argument, that I might have slipped into my pocket a pamphlet containing the proceedings of the Abolition Societies of the period immediately following the Revolutionary war; for I would have compared their doings with those of this gathering to-day, and then asked you, if such a handful of the choice men of that day dared to go no further than they did, and if to-day our Declaration of Sentiments can receive the applause of this assembly, which is only the representative of multitudes of people all over the land, have we made no progress? (Applause.)

Our friend alludes to the fact that the government still sustains slavery in the loyal States. True; and the more shame to the government. Every word he says against the pro-slavery position of this government, I heartily respond to; but how could he have had an opportunity to find fault with the government for not making a clean cut, if it had not made a jagged one? The government in the olden time never abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, never issued a proclamation of freedom to more than three million slaves, never recognized the black man, in any of its measures, even so far as Abraham Lincoln and William H. Seward and Thurlow Weed have already done. He has been recognized as a citizen, in defiance of the Dred Scott opinion, by the Attorney-General of the United States. Yes, we have official authority, from a Missourian Attorney-General, for the doctrine that the black man is a citizen of the country.

We have been told of the efforts of the government against the Emancipationists of Missouri. Then I say, the more shame to the government for that. But at the time just after the revolution, there could have been no act of interference needed by the Federal government to prevent the abolition of slavery in any slave State of the Union. Let me also, in justice to the man whom I have criticized, perhaps as freely as my friend Foster, remind you that if he went against the Radicals in Missouri, he went in favor of the Radicals in Maryland (applause). We have a man at the head of the government who is not altogether according to my taste, or in accordance with my feelings or my policy; but let us do him justice all the more assiduously, because we do not like his position.

I hold, then, that we have reason to be encouraged. The very ground we take is that of our friend Foster, that we will not give up until the work is accomplished; but we will labor all the more earnestly and with all the more energy because we see the signs around us of the progress we are making. We see the black man recognized among the defenders of the country, and see him regarded as a citizen, allowed as a citizen to appropriate the lands of the West, as well as to defend his newly acquired liberty. Even States which we regarded as incorrigible slave States—even Border Ruffian Missouri—tread upon the very verge of emancipation, and at the next step are likely to go over. Shall we not thank God and take courage, not laying down our arms as if the victory were won, but shouting with all the more vigor, in the language of the great Captain of Scotland, when he saw the wavering of the foe:

——"Press on, brave sons of Innisgail,
The foe is fainting fast,
One blow for children, and for wife,
For Scotland, liberty and life!
The battle cannot last."

Speech of Aaron M. Powell.

AARON M. POWELL said: Instead of the third meeting of this kind which is celebrated by many who are present, it is the first one in my own experience. But it is to me as valuable, I apprehend, in my own appreciation, for the length of time in which I have been familiar with this movement, as to you who have labored longer, and in the more trying and darker periods of the struggle. I want to stand here a moment this morning, and to express personally my own sense of gratitude for having been permitted, even for ten years, to share somewhat in this contest. I cannot think even of the shorter period over which my own mind can pass in review, without the deepest gratitude in my own heart at having been permitted to labor in the anti-slavery cause, in that hour when we were obliged to walk by faith wholly, and not by sight occasionally. It is, I think, an occasion for the special gratitude of every Abolitionist, to have been permitted to live in a time such as we have passed through, and such as we see at the present hour. I do not wish to dwell upon the past, or to indulge in any of the more recent reminiscences. I share the feeling which has been expressed this morning, that we are in the midst of great responsibilities. I think that we are surrounded by new and glorious opportunities for completing our labor. But the completion of it yet remains to be done. I am glad to stand here with the older members of the American Anti-Slavery Society, on this Thirtieth Anniversary, and to see in all the evidences of this hour, war-time as it is, the glorious moral method, which has been its method, vindicated as it is. We stand to-day vindicated in the wisdom of our position, and with every encouragement still to stand upon the platform of absolute right and impartial justice, as the only correct basis of effort in grappling successfully with oppression. As the New York *Tribune* of yesterday very truthfully remarked, there may be a connection between the meeting here thirty years ago and the Presidential administration of this period. So it remains as true to-day, that if we adhere to this platform of absolute right and impartial justice, we shall see this work carried on, in a new Union in the future, which shall be a true Union, dedicated to impartial liberty.

But, my friends, if by any mistaken counsel, which I do not believe is to prevail, if by any lack of conscience which I trust there may not be, that type of politicians should prevail, represented, not by the Hon. Senator upon our platform, but by the editor of the New York *Times*, there will be no Union such as we hope for. But I believe that the Henry J. Raymond school of politicians will not prevail, if there can be still impartial criticism of leading public men and public measures in the light of impartial justice and absolute right. I mention the New York *Times*, because, speaking for the body of so-called Conservative Republicans, after Grant's victory, which seemed to render it more certain that the North was to triumph, that paper says, in a column and a half editorial, that "masterly inactivity" is the policy now which should be pursued in regard to slavery. If that political counsel prevails, it is not statesmanship—it is a sham; it is selfishness under the name of conservatism. If that doctrine be allowed to prevail, then these battles, with tenfold increased horror, must in the future be fought over again. But if the American Anti-Slavery Society shall continue its labor earnestly and faithfully unto the end, then shall the line of political conduct based on the right find a moral support among the people which will enable them to go forward and reconstruct the Union upon the basis of liberty for all men throughout the land. I stand here this brief moment, then, that I may utter an exhortation to you who are the immediate members and friends of this Society, to continue your efforts, recognizing the new opportunities, and remembering our increased responsibility to make one last, best effort for the complete overthrow of the common enemy of which there ought to be; if there is an [illegible] to that fidelity of the importance and significance of this hour, this transition period, there will be engrafted in the Constitution of the country the simple amendment, when slavery has been abolished by a general emancipation act, that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any State or Territory of this Union, as explicit as the ancient prohibition in the Territories of the North-west.

At the outset of this rebellion, there was assembled at Washington a Peace Congress, supposed to contain the wisdom and statesmanship of the country, outside the Halls of Congress. And what was that wisdom in that hour? How was it proposed that we should avert this great calamity of national war? Charles Francis Adams, to the disgrace of that noble name, offered a resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution, an amendment in the interest of slavery. And now, with 300,000 graves between us and slavery, with the industry and economy of the country disarranged, and with mourning and lamentation in every household in the land, in Heaven's name, may we not end this conflict by amending the Constitution so that it may be as explicitly in the interest of liberty as in the beginning it was proposed to make it in the interest of slavery? (Applause.)

Speech of Lucretia Mott.

LUCRETIA MOTT said: When I see these young men and strong coming forward with acknowledgments of their indebtedness to the cause, and rejoicing that they have been among its later advocates; and when I look around upon this platform and see here a Lucy Stone, an Elizabeth Jones, and a Theodore Tilton, all laboring so effectively in the field, I feel that we older ones may indeed retire, and thank God that he who has blessed us all our lives long is now blessing the land; for there is surely no greater joy than to see these children walking in the anti-slavery truth.

I feared yesterday that we were dwelling too much upon the past. We were so deeply interested in the earliest movement of this Anti-Slavery Society, that we did not go back, except by mere incidental mention, to Benjamin Lay and Ralph Sangerford, who dwelt in caves and dens of the earth, of whom the world was not worthy, to Elias Hicks, Thomas Clarkson, and all those earlier laborers; we did not go back as far as that. I feared, however, that we were not enough leaving the things that were behind and pressing forward toward those that were before. Although I did not entirely agree with our friend Foster, and was glad that he was answered as he was—for I have so large Hope that I always take encouraging views of things when I can—yet I felt that there were duties to be performed in our case in regard to freedmen as well as in regard to those still held as slaves in our land. It is of little consequence to us now what we have suffered in the past, what obloquy, reproach and contumely we have endured in our religious societies, and in other relations in society. We might, as women, dwell somewhat upon our own restrictions, as connected with this anti-slavery movement. When persons interested in the cause were invited to send delegates to the London Convention of 1840, and some of those delegates were women, it was found out in time for them to send forth a note declaring that women were not included in the term "persons," but only men; and therefore when we arrived in London we were excluded from the platform. Yet, let me say, in justice to the Abolitionists there, that we were treated with all courtesy, and with a good deal of flattery in lieu of our rights. But all those things we may pass by.

Last evening, when we were listening, some of us, to the eloquent and earnest appeals made by Henry Ward Beecher, we saw in the assemblage some who, a few years ago, rushed from their seats in the church because they could not bear to hear William Furness speak so plainly on the subject of slavery, and who warned friends from abroad that they must not come to our houses because we were Abolitionists. When Madame Pulsky and her friends came, and were asked to go with me on a visit to the penitentiary, and the carriage was at the door, word came that they were discouraged from coming because we were Abolitionists! When I see those men coming forward now and joining in the applause for the thorough anti-slavery sentiments of Henry Ward Beecher and others, so far from blaming them, or setting them at naught, I would rather welcome them at this eleventh hour, and I hope they may receive their full penny, if they work diligently to the end. I have felt sometimes, almost with the Apostle, willing to be accursed of my brethren for this cause's sake; but willing afterwards, when they come forward and mingle with us, to give them the right hand and invite them upon the platform, and glad to hear them if they have anything to say on the right side. When I saw these things last evening, I remembered the remark of Ray Potter, one of the signers of the Declaration, who, in a speech in Rhode Island, said that Abolitionists had the great Temple of Liberty to rear, and must do all the rough and hard work. But when it was near the top, he said, then would come forth people to lay their little fingers upon it and say, "We have got it up!" I could but remember this last evening, and also a few weeks ago, when I rejoiced to see the crowds listening to the words that proceeded out of the mouths of Phillips Brooks and others upon this very platform. When I heard some of the members of the Freedmen's Association, in this meeting, talking about the objections that were met and answered again and again by the Abolitionists years ago, of the duties connected with the liberation of the slave which we must perform, I felt that, after all, we were but unprofitable servants, and had not done as we ought to have done, in regard to doing away with that deep-rooted prejudice which is the concomitant of slavery, and which we know can never be removed while slavery exists. Some of us women can perhaps more fully sympathize with the slave because the prejudice against him is somewhat akin to that against our sex; and we ought to have been more faithful than we have been, so that when we hear the words applied to us, "Come, ye blessed of my Father," we might be ready to ask, "When saw we thee an hungered, or athirst, or in prison, and ministered unto thee?" It seems to me, therefore, as has been recommended here to-day, that we should keep on our armor. It may not be necessary to continue our operations in precisely the same way. But it will be necessary to multiply our periodicals, and scatter them, as we have done heretofore with good effect. When our friends were talking of what was done, and how we were received in the beginning, and when Church and State were, as our friend Garrison showed so clearly, arrayed against us, I remembered that then, just as in olden times, the common people heard us gladly. In truth the original good heart of the people—excuse my theology—cannot resist the wisdom and the power with which truth speaks to their understanding; and therefore it was that we were gladly received among them. Many have come and made their acknowledgments, that when we have been mobbed, when Pennsylvania Hall was burned, they were in the wrong, that they were in the mob; but now they say, "Whereas I was blind, now I see, and I am willing now to be faithful to what I see." Let us welcome them, hail them in their coming and gladly receive them. And with all these coadjutors, the work will go on, emancipation will be proclaimed, and we may be just as confident and earnest as we were before our friend Foster reproved us. I think we may rejoice and take courage. I like a little addition to the rejoicing of good old Simeon: "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen *of* thy salvation"; for the whole salvation has not come, but we have seen *of* the salvation.

Speech of Rev. Samuel May, Jr.

Rev. SAMUEL MAY, Jr., said: Although I cannot claim to be one of the original members of this Society, I am happy to look back upon 25 years of connection with it, and upon such labors and services as I have been able to render. I should be sorry, therefore, to go away from Philadelphia without hearing my own voice lifted up in behalf of our good cause. I wish to add a few words, to reassure our good friend, S. S. Foster, on the subject of our warfare with slavery, as I have been in a position to know something of the minds and opinions of the different members of this Society. The number of those who believe that our work is done, or who entertain the least thought of laying down their arms, is so exceedingly small that they can be counted on the fingers of a single hand. Neither this Society, nor any one of its committees, has made any announcement affording ground for the least shadow of suspicion that we mean to disband, or cease from our work, while a single slave treads the soil of our native land. There is no such purpose. We have known too much of the privilege and blessing of being enlisted in the cause, to be willing to withdraw while a single slave still clanks his chains. I know there are a few, a very few, who think that we may cease our associated labors. I know of one eminent lady who thinks so. She is not with us to-day. She has ceased to cooperate with the Executive Committee, of which she was so long a member. She thinks that our work, as an associated body, is at an end; and it is not for one of us to condemn her for that opinion. It is no desertion of our cause on the part of Maria W. Chapman, whose name I mention, because it ought to be named in this Society with reverence and with gratitude. If she withdraws from us before we think our work is done, let us remember how much earlier than almost any of us she enlisted in its ranks; how early her clear foresight saw the danger when we were blind to it; how eloquent was her pen and her voice in dispelling the cloud of darkness which overshadowed the land; how clear was her faith; how brave was her heart. And if she now leaves the Society sooner than we think she should do, may we not suppose there may be given to her now a foresight of the future better and clearer than ours, such as she had thirty years ago, when she was among the first to take up this great cause, and when, with brave and unflinching heart, she faced that Boston mob and all its terrors? We have no word of blame for such a servant of the cause as that.

But, adhering to our convictions of duty, nearly every one of the rest of our association maintains his ground. So I think our friend Foster need not be troubled.

As we look back through the last quarter of a century, perhaps the most painful object in our contemplation is the opposition which this cause has had to encounter from the Churches of the land. With here and there an exception, the great body of religionists, who took upon themselves the name of Christ, and dared to organize in the name of him who ever went out to the lowliest and humblest and most oppressed among men, threw themselves in the way of our organization. We will not stop to utter words of reproach to-day. God opened the eyes of some of us to see, what the Church could not see, that anti-slavery was the gospel for the day. There were winnowed out of every sect those who knew that this cause was Christ's own cause in the land. Many, misled and deceived by false-hearted leaders, entertained the belief that we were an infidel association. I wish to express, therefore, the great satisfaction I felt this morning, when that eloquent speaker, Henry Ward Beecher, came among us, in his kind, courteous, and fraternal spirit, and, from his position as an accredited preacher of the Christian religion, recognized upon this platform the great services this Society has "rendered to patriotism, to religion, to humanity." That, in my mind, is a sufficient offset to columns and pages of scurrilous denunciation of us as infidels. Not that *we* needed any such testimony from Mr. Beecher, or anybody else; not that it makes any difference with us what he or anyone else says upon that point; but that it nullifies the objurgations and false assertions of so many others in the clerical profession. We know on what foundation we have built. We need not the testimony, although we rejoice in it. We are glad to-day to recognize, amidst other changes, the change in the Churches and religious bodies of the land. No longer content with sending the gospel to distant lands, they are beginning to recognize the poor, the needy, and the ignorant in the freed slaves of our own land. The best supported Christian bodies of to-day, and those receiving the most hearty sympathy, are those that are ministering both to the spiritual and physical wants of the freed slaves of the country. And to-day the Sanitary Commission, and that other body which, not satisfied with the simple title of United States Sanitary Commission, takes upon itself the name of *Christian* Commission, go forward to bless the suffering soldier and the ignorant slave, to recognize the freedom of the colored man, and to meet him in the army, on the plantation, or in the hospital, with Christian kindness, instruction and supplies. And this is now recognized as eminently *Christian* work by the Churches.

Upon one other point of my friend Foster's remarks I wish to say a single word. Although I have no apologies to offer for anything wrong in Mr. Lincoln's position or policy, yet, with Mr. Burleigh, I say, let us do justice; and when Mr. Foster said that the President had issued his great Proclamation with an entire disregard and indifference for the rights of the slave or the colored man, and only for the benefit of the white man, it seems to me that he did our President great injustice. (Applause). Did not Mr. Lincoln expressly say that he "sincerely believed" that great measure "to be an act of justice;" and did he not, upon this very ground, "invoke" for it "the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God"?

Mr. FOSTER.—Did not the President declare to the civilized world that he would prefer to put down this rebellion without disturbing the power of slavery?

Mr. MAY.—I think there was nothing about "preference," but that he was determined to put down the rebellion; and, as President of the United States, he was bound so to act.

HENRY C. WRIGHT.—Has the President of the United States, as President, any right to free a single slave purely as a matter of justice, or for his good? His only power, as President of the United States, is to free the slave as a military necessity (applause).

THE PRESIDENT.—The next speaker is one who has devoted a large portion of her life, since she came to years of intelligence, to the cause of the slave. There is no one, in the Old World or the New, who has labored more devotedly, more self-sacrificingly, or more wholly given all that she is and all that she has, to be put upon the altar of bleeding humanity, than Abby Kelley Foster.

Speech of Abby Kelley Foster.

ABBY KELLEY FOSTER said: I agree with almost everything that has been said here this morning in relation to the present aspects of our cause and our present duty. Yet, there is one thing that remains for us to be reminded of. Although we all feel and know that, of necessity, there must have been an immense change in the public sentiment in consequence of the action of this Anti-Slavery Society, yet we should not be too confident as to the character of the wonderful change since the war commenced. Although brought up in the Orthodox Church, I do not believe exactly in the doctrine of instantaneous conversion. There is a fall from grace sometimes. I want to remind you that we had labored for thirty years previous to the terrible mobs of 1860. Do we remember the Fall of 1860, and the Winter of 1860 and '61? Do we remember that never was a more blood-thirsty mob organized in the city of Boston than was organized in the Fall of 1860?

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH, (interposing)—When the Devil came down in great wrath, because he knew he had but a short time.

Mrs. FOSTER.—Let us see whether he knew he had but a short time. Have we forgotten that blood-thirsty spirit which went from Boston, all along through Albany, on the line of the Central Railroad, through the entire West, which came down here into Pennsylvania and pervaded every part of the North—the spirit of determination that free speech should utterly be crushed out?—a spirit that responded to what was proposed by the Peace Convention at Washington, viz: that we should give slavery free course to run and be glorified through this country; that notwithstanding our twenty-seven years of anti-slavery agitation, free speech should be crushed, as we knew it must be, if those peace resolutions had been accepted by the South? If they had been, we should truly have been crushed out, as we believed at that period. Truly would free speech have been trampled under foot, and slavery would have been triumphant, but for the fact that the slaveholders would not accept the offer. No thanks to the governing masses of the North that that consummation of diabolism did not succeed. No, no. Did slavery think it had but a short time to live? No, it was blind. Sin is always blind. Satan never could see an inch before his nose. The North did not dream it; politicians did not dream it. They believed that, notwithstanding the flood of light, they could crush us all down, and that slavery could have a larger lease of life, not for its own sake, but to promote what they believed to be their pecuniary and political well-being.

And now whence comes this sudden change? A Pentecost, forsooth! Is it by the pouring out of the Holy Ghost, or the pouring out of human blood? Is it because the great mass of the people have come to believe and have received grace into their hearts? God knows I do not willingly stand here to bring scorn, opposition, contempt, or hatred upon those who have turned right-about-face, when I charge that it is not from the highest but from the lowest motives, and that therefore it is not from motives upon which we can rely, and which should make us jubilant. They government takes course as everybody knows—the it—because it is their only safety. Senator Wilson knows that the government proposed, and the Secretary of State issued letters of instruction to all our ministers plenipotentiary abroad, declaring that the rebellion would be put down without changing the status of an individual. It was the intention and determination to do so. We have not Secretary Seward to thank, we have not President Lincoln to thank, we have not the government of the United States to thank, we have not the commercial men nor the Churches to thank; but we have Jeff Davis and the terrible persistency of the rebels to thank, that there has been this change of conduct in the North. It was a matter of military necessity, and therefore we have it. And having been induced by military necessity, for the sake of self-preservation, we cannot rely upon it. It has been said by a leading paper, that if the rebels should lay down their arms to-day, Secretary Seward—although his Gettysburg speech differed somewhat from his Auburn speech, because his language is the echo of public sentiment always, as far as it goes and he can get it, and the one was made before and the other after the last election in Pennsylvania, and the other States which were so doubtful—would gladly, and the government would gladly receive them back like the prodigal son, and kill for them the fatted cal

THE STANDARD.

THIRD DECADE MEETING.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

FRIDAY EVENING.

The Society assembled at 7 o'clock, the Hall being crowded to its utmost capacity.

ROBERT PURVIS, on rising to speak, was received with marked enthusiasm. He delivered an impassioned address, dwelling mainly upon the proscriptive spirit of caste, which, in defiance of the fundamental principles of the American government, deprives the colored man of his political, educational and social rights, and often exposes him to insult and outrage. We regret that we have no report of his speech, having been disappointed in the expectation that he would himself write it out for publication in this place.

Mr. Purvis, before commencing his address, read the following memoir of one of the earliest friends of the anti-slavery cause in this country.

MEMOIR OF ARNOLD BUFFUM.

ARNOLD BUFFUM, first President of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, son of William and Lydia Buffum, was born at Smithfield, R. I., 1782.

In the house of his father, who was a member of the old Abolition Society, Arnold, when a child, often listened to the stories of an old colored man who had once been a slave; after telling of the cruelties and degradations of his slave life he would proudly say of his youngest son, "Pero loves Cuffee more than all his children, 'cause he free born!"

From his earliest youth Arnold Buffum maintained a faithful testimony against slavery, though his true, loving heart was often deeply wounded by the coldness and enmity of those who had once been his friends. For, at the time when great fortunes were first made by cotton manufacturers in New England, they believed that cotton could only be furnished at profitable rates by slave labor, and they disliked, and sought to silence, all expression against it. Great was his joy to meet William Lloyd Garrison, and the glorious company who formed the first Anti-Slavery Society.

In 1825 Arnold Buffum visited England, and there enjoyed the society and friendship of Elizabeth Fry, Amelia Opie, Thomas Clarkson, Joseph Sturge, Richard Webb, and others, who heartily sympathized with him in his love of liberty.

After a life spent in earnest work to promote Education, Temperance, and Emancipation, he departed March 13th, 1859, at the age of 77 years, having earned the title, FRIEND OF MAN, and his end was peace.

THE PRESIDENT.—There are on the table a considerable number of letters addressed to the meeting by friends of the cause who could not be with us in person. Interesting as they are, and much as we esteem the writers, we are constrained for want of time to forbear reading them. They will be published, however, with our proceedings.

Speech of Theodore Tilton.

MR. TILTON, on rising, was saluted with applause, and spoke as follows:

GOOD FRIENDS: I thank you for this courtesy, and wish I could say something worthy of your good-will. But when the Committee asked me to speak, I pleaded that I might sit dumb: because this is a meeting for retrospect—for old men's tongues and young men's ears. Sitting for two days on this platform, I have not been able to realize, even yet, that this is a *public* meeting. I know the doors stand open to all comers, and many strangers are here; yet, looking over this multitude, I see such a host of my own dear and personal friends—men and women whose names I could name—whose hands I have often clasped in fellowship—at whose board I have partaken hospitality—from whose lips I have had many pleasant words of good cheer—that now as I look upon you all, gathered here from many different towns, and cities, and States—brought together after many miles of journeying—it seems to me that this meeting is mainly and chiefly a family reunion of fathers and children—and that I am one of the children. And now, though I am summoned to my feet to speak, my mind keeps wandering away from all the intellectual activities that have marked the three preceding sessions of this Convention, and I am thinking at this moment, not of any of the great questions that have been discussed—not of any keen encounter of debate—nor, indeed, of any cunning argument with which to-night I might hope to win you to new allegiance to the good cause—but rather of the devout gratitude to God that fills my heart because of His giving to *me*—the latest and least man among you—one born out of due time—a share, however humble and small, in that sublime work upon which you now have set the crown of thirty victorious years! My heart rises to my lips, and makes me say, May grace and mercy and peace from God our Father abide upon us all to-night!

Sir, I know these people! And I speak the truth when I say that here before us sit many humble men and women of whom the world is not worthy. And here behind us on this platform are whitened heads in whose presence I stand reverent and abashed. Who am I that should stand up among such as these? Shall a pupil discourse to his teachers? Thirty years! Sir, I know not so many. This Society is two years older than I. Before my cradle was rocked, you were already in the world, able to walk alone (laughter).

As you all have been talking personalities, you must let me do the same. On my way to this convention, I received a curious letter. It was concerning my genealogy. Now I never was greatly interested in genealogies, and never took any pains to trace my lineage backward into the past—always feeling that I should never be very proud of it. I find now that I am directly descended from the English nobility—nothing to be proud of certainly! (Laughter.) Yet there is a redeeming feature in the history. The ancestral nobleman was Sir John Tilton who spent his fortune on the Gunpowder Plot, and got hung for it! (Laughter.) I knew before, that a later ancestor was Peter Tilton who hid the Regicides at Hadley, Massachusetts. Later than this, I was born in the very year and month when Mr. Garrison was mobbed in Boston! Now these three facts, taken together, give me, I think, a valid title to my agitating tendencies! (Laughter.)

It was a beautiful picture, that drawn by Whittier in his letter of yesterday morning, of the small upper room in a black man's house in this city, where, thirty years ago, the architects of this Society went up one after another and signed their names to their solemn covenant against American slavery. I could draw a picture not so quiet and pleasant, of the place where I made my own covenant—not with any man, but with God—to spend my life in the same cause. It was in the city of Richmond. This auction-block standing here adds double vividness to my recollection of the scene. Under the red flag of a slave auctioneer, I walked into a slave market, and heard a voice, crying, "this woman's name is Mary—how much am I bid for her?"—and there, before my eyes, standing on such a block as this, was a woman holding a babe at her breast, a boy standing at one side, and a girl at the other! Shall I tell you what became of them? The mother and her babe were sold to North Carolina—the boy to Georgia, and the girl to Missouri. My soul flushed into my face like fire, and then and there, in that slave-pen, I said to myself, By the grace of God, as Hannibal swore eternal hostility to Rome, I swear eternal hostility to American slavery! (Applause.) This was my first sight of that great conspiracy against human nature, which, breaking out afterwards into an armed rebellion against the Republic, has crowned that capital city with a crown of crime. This, sir, is *my* reminiscence to add to *yours*.

Now, after thirty years, what hath God wrought? The other day I was reading a little memorial of Mr. Garrison's early labors in establishing *The Liberator*, when the profits of the paper were so small that the editor and his printer lived chiefly on bread and water; "but," said the printer, "when we sold more copies than usual, we bought each a cup of milk." That, sir, was the milk-and-water period of the anti-slavery enterprise, (laughter). To-day the good cause feeds on strong meat! My friend the Rev. Mr. Sloane, of New York, told me that when he was a boy in Ohio, where his father's house stood always open for hospitality to all anti-slavery itinerants, a lecturer came there one day, whose coat showed that it had been kissed by an egg, and one that had a bad breath. "Let me wipe off the stain," said young Sloane. "Never mind, my lad," said the hero, "for if you rub it off, I will only catch another at the next town," (laughter). But now-a-days, an anti-slavery lecturer may go to the next town, and the next, and the next, and keep a clean coat clean all the way! And now how sublimely has God evolved out of the small beginnings of this enterprise of thirty years ago the grand results which all men's eyes see to-day. For though the cause is yet in its struggle, it cannot suffer defeat. Its beginners are likely to live to see its glorious end. "Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth!" Behold how much has been accomplished by the patient labors of a few brave souls, who finally have set all the world to work with them in the same great cause. How few were the originators of this enterprise! They were only a handful! Yes, Jupiter's thunderbolts were only a handful, but they shook the whole world! (Applause.) I think often of that saying of Annie of Austria, "God does not pay at the end of every week but He pays at last." Now at the end of a generation, for all the struggle, for all the toil, for all the obstacles and perils, for all the burdens borne in the heat of the day—what a rich reward falls to these early laborers, young then, but now gray!—what retrospect and prospect!—what memories of the past and hopes of the future! In the beginning, the whole power of the government—its laws, its policies, its bayonets—bore against the slave: now all these, like sharpened arrows, are barbed against the slave's master. The great slave-mongers of History have been Commerce and War. But now Commerce has set her hand and seal to a treaty against the slave trade; and War, no longer an enslaver, has become an emancipator, (applause). Mr. Purvis gave a fit and beautiful designation to the great decree of the President's which crowned that new year with a new policy. What is the significance of that act? A Lombard King who marched through the length of Italy, coming to the south shore, rode on horseback into the water up to the saddle-girth, when, rising in his stirrups, he took a javelin and hurling it far forward, exclaimed, as it fell into the sea, "Thus far do I extend the boundary of the Lombard power." So Abraham Lincoln, drawing from the War Power the beneficient weapon of Emancipation, has hurled it over nine rebellious States, saying, "Thus far do I extend the boundary of Human Freedom!" (Applause)

But by whom was this weapon put into the President's hands? I will tell you. De Tocqueville, who wrote of this country as it was thirty years ago, said that such were then the prevailing views of Federal rights and State rights, that if a conflict should arise between the government at Washington and the government at any State capital, the State would be strong enough to pluck the victory, and the Federal centre would be too weak to do anything but yield. Now what if this rebellion, instead of breaking out in 1860 had broken out in 1830? It would then have conquered the government! Nothing could have saved the Union from the disintegrating blow. Now what, during these last thirty years, has so strengthened the government that it is now able to conquer, not one, but a dozen rebellious States? It is that change in the moral convictions of a free people, which, more and more unifying Northern opinions and interests against the South now at last knits and binds all the loyal States into a steadfast allegiance to the Federal government, and gives to the Executive every weapon needed to crush the rebellion and to preserve the republic. The conspiracy, we are told, began about thirty years ago; its antidote began about the same time. While our enemy was secretly fashioning his spear, God inspired a company of good men to set to work immediately to make the shield. It was thus that the anti-slavery agitation arose—the mass of the people not knowing why, and clamoring against it as the disturber of their peace, little dreaming that this very agitation was to create their future safeguard against an approaching conspiracy. I declare, what history will prove, that the unity of the North to-day, in its conflict with the South, is a legitimate result of that moral awakening whose first trumpet-call this Society sounded into the startled ears of the nation thirty years ago! (Applause.) The anti-slavery agitation, and this alone, to-day makes it possible for Abraham Lincoln to stand victor over the slaveholders' rebellion! (Applause.) All honor, therefore, to the early pioneers of the anti-slavery movement! The nation owes to these men its present safety; and when it has time to stop and think, it will give them, as the reward due to their labors, the gratitude of the present and of future generations! (Applause.)

The same Divine providence—for it has not been the work of man—the same providence that began this sublime work will carry it victoriously to its consummation. I never reflect without pity upon the long unhappy condition of that dusky race of four million of human souls, who, under a free government and in a Christian age, have been chained down to the basest servitude ever known in the world. The strong may take care of themselves, but the weak ought to be helped. That is man's duty and God's example. The heavenly Father cares for all, but mostly for those who need most care. The Scriptures take no pains to say that He cares for such sparrows as are strong of wing, but tenderly mention that he cares for such as fall to the ground. If men therefore, are of more value than many sparrows, will he not lift up that lowly multitude that so long have been bowed down to the ground? One day, while sitting in my office, I received from Mr. Greeley a hurried note, somewhat as follows: "My friend, read the enclosed, and if you can do anything for the poor man, I know you will." The enclosed was a little bit of blue paper, sweat-stained, written upon in a scrawling, straggling hand, misspelled, and ran in this wise. "I am a fugutive slave in Canada. I came from Maryland five years ago, leaving my father behind me, an old man, of whom I cannot hear whether he is alive or dead. I have written many letters, but get no answers. What shall I do!" This was the substance. After reading the note, I dropped it on my desk, saying, it is a hopeless case. In a few minutes somebody knocked at my door, and in came an old, weather-knocked at my door, and in came an old, weather-beaten black man, white-haired and venerable. He was on his way from Maryland Northward—for I never yet found any of that class of people on their way South ward. His name was Samuel Green. The name in the letter was Henry Green. "Did you ever know a man by the name of Henry Green?" I asked. "I had a son," said he "by that name. He ran out of slavery five years ago, and I never have heard from him since." "Now listen," said I, and I read the letter to him, and watched his face. "It is my son," said he, "my son Henry!" And that same evening the railroad train bore him Northward, and on the second day afterward he kissed his son's cheek!—a reunion as of two persons rising to meet each other from the grave, after five years of death! Now, my friends, the same Divine Hand that brought together so strangely those two sundered hearts, is stretched out of the Heavens for the help of all the sorrowing four million, and will, sooner or later, lead them every one into the "light and liberty of the sons of God!" (Applause.) For God and all good angels are working together for the eradication of slavery from this land. And we are near the day of victory. I am informed that an old man in this State, lying on his death bed at the beginning of the year, was told by his family that the President had decreed liberty to the slaves. "Read me the Proclamation," said he, and after it was read, he folded his feeble hands, saying, "Now Lord, lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have beheld the salvation of my country." Shortly afterward he died—leaving the nation to a new and nobler life. But we must not flatter ourselves that the work is already done, or will be done to-morrow or the next day. It may be that the shadow of war on the land has not yet grown as dark as God means it. It may be that we have not yet suffered enough for purification—for we are refined by fire, and disciplined by sorrow. But even though it be by the path of blood and tears, let us thank God that, by any path, he is leading the nation forward to liberty.

This convention has been one of good cheer. It has ministered refreshment to my soul. There has been an Indian Summer in its atmosphere which has warmed my blood, and quickened my pulse. But I have been so over-filled with a strong sympathy that my mind has been robbed and dispossessed of all the thoughts that a better fortune might have thrown into my remarks. I know it is said that "out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh," yet one might make another proverb and say, Out of the *over*-abundance of the heart, the mouth would hold its peace And now, my friends, while we are having the baptism of fire and blood in the land, let us have the baptism of the Holy Ghost in our souls. O, sir, when one looks at the magnitude of the cause, of its moral grandeur, of its infinite importance for humanity, and then looks at his own weakness in its advocacy, what can a man do but cry out, "Who is sufficient for these things?" What manner of man ought one to be who takes upon himself the championship of liberty! How ought one to purge himself of all that is base and mean! How clean and pure of soul ought to be the man who dares to rebuke a nation for its sin! Let us look up into the Heavens for the benediction of God upon us and upon our work.

"Anoint and cheer our soiled face
With the abundance of thy grace."

Time flies! Clarkson and Wilberforce are in their graves, but their names are precious. The venerable men on this platform shall sooner or later follow—leaving behind them like precious names. For there are some within the sound of my voice whose names shall be as enduring as American history. Yet it is makes very little difference who shall be remembered or who forgotten, for when these present storms shall give way to blue skies—when the fields now red with blood shall be green with peace—when every chain shall be broken and every slave shall offer thanksgiving—all true souls, forgetting the mere human instruments of the Divine will, will cry out, "Not unto us, not unto us, but unto thy name be the victory, O Lord God of Hosts!" (Applause.)

THE PRESIDENT.—For one I am always rejoiced to hear of the success of any candidate, in any part of the country, who represents the idea of liberty. Whatever may be said with regard to their merely echoing public sentiment, one thing I know, that a man sometimes comes into office without losing his manhood, and keeping his integrity. We have such a man with us here to-night, in the person of Senator Wilson. He did not wait till the public sentiment was created, whereby he could safely aspire to public office; but long before he ever dreamed of office, as early as 1836, his interest in the struggle for the abolition of slavery began, and has continued from that hour to this. If he has been Representative and Senator in Massachusetts, Senator in the United States Congress representing Massachusetts, and is there still, it is not because he has played the part of a demagogue, but because he has dared to speak the words of freedom and to maintain the cause of the slave (applause).

Speech of Hon. Henry Wilson.

MR. PRESIDENT: I came here to look into the faces and to hear the voices of the honored men who, thirty years ago, laid the foundations of the anti-slavery movement in America, upon the rights of human nature and the laws of the living God. Passing on to the post of duty assigned me in the councils of the Republic, I gladly pause to-day to pay the tribute of my sincere respect, gratitude, and admiration to the men, and the women, too, of the American Anti-Slavery Society, who, for a generation, have vindicated the cause of the proscribed bondmen of Christian America with a fidelity unsurpassed in any age or nation (applause). I came here, too, sir, to catch something of that spirit of self-sacrificing devotion to the cause of liberty and humanity that has animated you and the devoted friends who have gathered around you in the struggle of these thirty years. The President of the United States, as he stood the other day among the graves of the fallen brave on the immortal field of Gettysburg, said that the lesson there taught should be an inspiration to greater efforts in the future, in the cause of the perilled country. This anniversary festival, sacred to the memories of past struggles, is to us an inspiration and a hope. I leave you to-night to go to the theatre of public duty, where anti-slavery men are to be tried as perhaps they were never tried before, inspired with the determination to do all that I can to break the last fetter of the last slave in the United States (long-continued applause).

You, Mr. President, were kind enough to say that, in political life, I did not wait for public opinion before committing myself to the sacred cause of equal and impartial liberty. On this occasion when we may recur to the recollections and reminiscences of the past, I may be pardoned in saying that I was an anti-slavery man years before I entertained any political aspirations, or formed any political associations. In the Spring of 1836, I visited the Capital of my country. Passing in the cars from Baltimore to Washington, I saw several slave women toiling in the fields. Turning to a gentleman sitting by me, I expressed an opinion that slavery was an evil and a dishonor, and was told, rather sharply, that I "could not be permitted to express such an opinion in the State of Maryland." That was, perhaps, my first utterance against slavery, and the first rebuke I ever received for such utterance. I went on to the Capital of my country. I saw slavery beneath the shadow of the flag that waved over the Capitol. I saw the slave-pen, and men, and women, and children herded for the markets of the far South; and at the table at which sat Senator Morris, of Ohio, then the only avowed champion of freedom in the Senate of the United States, I expressed my abhorrence of slavery and the slave traffic in the Capital of this democratic and Christian Republic. I was promptly told that "Senator Morris might be protected in speaking against slavery in the Senate, but I would not be protected in uttering such sentiments." I left the Capital of my country with the unalterable resolution to give all that I had, and all that I hoped to have, of power, to the cause of emancipation in America, and I have tried to make that resolution a living faith from that day to this (applause). My political associations, from that hour to the present, have always been guided by my opposition to slavery in every form, and they always will be so guided. In twenty years of public life, I may have committed errors of judgment, but I have ever striven "to write my name," in the words of William Leggett, "in ineffaceable letters on the Abolition record." Standing here, to-night, in the presence of veteran anti-slavery men, I can say, in all the sincerity of conviction, that I would rather have it written upon the humble stone that shall mark the spot where I shall repose when life's labors are done, "He did what he could to break the fetters of the slave," than to have it recorded that he filled the highest stations of honor in the gift of his countrymen.

As I have listened, Mr. President, here to-day to the reminiscences of the past, I have endeavored to realize the condition of the anti-slavery cause in America, when you, sir, and your associates, thirty years ago, founded here, in this city of Philadelphia, the American Anti-Slavery Society. When our fathers came out of the fiery trials of the Revolution they believed that slavery would pass away under our republican institutions and Christian civilization, but the spirit of the Revolutionary era passed away as its champions passed from earth. When the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed in 1833, the conquest and subjugation of the country by the slave-masters who had forgotten the teachings of the fathers was complete. Institutions of learning, of benevolence, all bowed in unresisting submission to the iron will of the slave-masters who ruled the governments of the slaveholding States, and shaped the policy of the Republic. When you, sir, and your comrades organized the American Anti-Slavery Society, and proclaimed immediate emancipation to be the duty of the master and the right of the slave, you believed, in the bright ardor of that moment, that Christian America would respond to your noble appeals, would soon break every yoke, undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free. But the sentinels of the slave-masters sounded the alarm. They demanded that institutions of learning and religion, public men and the public press, should disown the heresy of immediate emancipation, and mark and brand its advocates. They demanded the suppression of the freedom of discussion and the liberty of the press. Timid, nerveless conservatism cowered before the imperious demands of Southern slave-masters. The reign of terror was inaugurated, law was prostrated in the dust, and the friends of the slave held property, liberty, and life itself at the mercy of lawless mobs, who set at defiance the laws of God and the decencies of civilization.

But, amid scenes of lawlessness, violence, social proscription and official rebuke, the heroic men who inaugurated the anti-slavery movement did not quail or shrink from fearful conflicts from which the timid instinctively recoiled. Their spirits rose and mantled as the storm of denunciation beat upon their devoted heads. They looked danger in the eye—they hurled defiance at arbitrary power. They saw with clear vision that the conflict was not a war of men, but of ideas and institutions. Like John Adams, they saw "through the gloom of the present the rays of ravishing light and glory." They echoed the hopeful words of one of freedom's poets:

"The few shall not forever sway,
The many toil in sorrow;
The powers of hell are strong to-day,
But Christ shall rise to-morrow."

Confident of the future, sir, they reechoed your defiant words: "We are in earnest; we will not equivocate; we will not excuse; we will not retreat a single inch—and we will be heard!" (Applause.) Few in numbers, strong only in their principles and the potency of their measures, they began that conflict with the Constitution, and republican institutions, until you have stricken down that damning curse and put it beyond the pale of the Republic. For, while it is in this country, it will make your Union impossible; it will make your Constitution impossible. I therefore call this just what the Democrats have charged it with being, an abolition war. Let us emblazon it on our banners, and declare before the world that this is an abolition war (applause), that it will prosper precisely in proportion as it takes upon itself this character (renewed applause).

My respected friend, Mr Purvis, called attention to the existence of prejudice against color in this country. This gives me great cause for apprehension if not for alarm. I am afraid of this powerful element of prejudice against color. While it exists I want the voice of the American Anti-Slavery Society to be continually protesting, continually exposing it. While it can be said that in this most anti-slavery city in the Northern States of our Union, in the city of Philadelphia, the city of Brotherly Love, the city of churches, the city of piety, that the most genteel and respectable colored lady or gentleman may be kicked out of your commonest street car, we are in danger of a compromise. While it can be said that black men, fighting bravely for this country, are asked to take $7 per month, while a complexional one, we are in danger of a compromise. While to be radical is to be unpopular, we are in danger of a compromise. While we have a large minority, called Democratic, in every State of the North, we have a powerful nucleus for a most infernal reaction in favor of slavery. I know it is said that we have recently achieved vast political victories. I am glad of it. I value those victories, however, more for what they have prevented than for what they have actually accomplished. I should have been doubly sad at seeing any one of these States wheel into line with the Peace Democracy. But, however, it may be in the State of Pennsylvania, I know that you may look for abolition in the creed of any party in New York with a microscope, and you will not find a single line of anti-slavery there. The victories were Union victories, victories to save the Union in such ways as the country may devise to save it. But whatever may have been the meaning of these majorities in regard to the Union, we know one thing, that the minorities, at least, mean slavery. They mean submission. They mean the degradation of the colored man. They mean everything but open rebellion against the Federal government in the South. But the mob, the rioters in the city of New York, convert that city into a hell, and its lower orders into demons, and dash out the brains of little children against the curbstones; and they mean anything and everything that the Devil exacts at their hands. While we had in this State a majority of but 15,000 over this pro-slavery Democratic party, they have a mighty minority, a dangerous minority. Keep in mind when these minorities were gotten. Powerful as they are, they were gotten when slavery, with bloody hands, was stabbing at the very heart of the nation itself. With all that disadvantage they have piled up these powerful minorities.

We have work to do, friends and fellow-citizens, to look after these minorities. The day that shall see Jeff Davis fling down his Montgomery Constitution, and call home his Generals, will be the most trying day to the virtue of this people, that this country has ever seen. When the slaveholders shall give up the contest and ask for readmission into the Union, then, as Mr Wilson has told us, we shall see the trying time in this country. Your Democracy will clamor for peace and for restoring the old order of things, because that old order of things was the life of the Democratic party. "You do take away mine house, when you take away the prop that sustains my house," and the support of the Democratic party we all know to be slavery. The Democratic party is for war for slavery; it is for peace for slavery; it is for the *habeas corpus* for slavery; it is against the *habeas corpus* for slavery; it was for the Florida war for slavery; it was for the Mexican war for slavery; it is for jury trial for traitors, for slavery; it is against jury trial for men claimed as fugitive slaves, for slavery. It has but one principle, one master; and it is guided, governed and directed by it. I say that with this party among us, flaunting its banners in our faces, with the New York *World* scattered broadcast over the North, with the New York *Express*, with the mother and father and devil of them all, the New York *Herald* (applause), with those papers flooding our land, and coupling the term Abolitionist with all manner of coarse epithets, in all our hotels, at all our crossings, our highways and byways and railways all over the country, there is work to be done—a good deal of work to be done.

I have said that our work will not be done until the colored man is admitted a full member in good and regular standing in the American body politic. Men have very nice ideas about the body politic where I have travelled; and they don't like the idea of having the negro in the body politic. He may remain in this country, for he will be useful as a laborer, valuable perhaps in time of trouble as a helper; but to make him a full and complete citizen, a legal voter, that would be contaminating the body politic. I was a little curious, some years ago, to find out what sort of a thing this body politic was; and I was very anxious to know especially about what amount of baseness, brutality, coarseness, ignorance, and bestiality, could find its way into the body politic; and I was not long in finding it out I took my stand near the little hole through which the body politic put its votes (laughter). And first among the mob, I saw Ignorance, unable to read its vote, asking *me* to read it, by the way (great laughter), depositing its vote in the body politic. Next I saw a man stepping up to the body politic, casting in his vote, having a black eye and another one ready to be blacked, having been engaged in a street fight. I saw, again, Pat, fresh from the Emerald Isle, with the delightful brogue peculiar to him, stepping up—not walking, but leaning upon the arms of two of his friends, unable to stand, passing into the body politic! I came to the conclusion that this body politic was, after all, not quite so pure a body as the representations of its friends would lead us to believe.

I know it will be said that I ask you to make the black man a voter in the South. Yet you are for having brutality and ignorance introduced into the ballot box. It is said that the colored man is ignorant, and therefore he shall not vote! In saying this, you lay down a rule for the black man that you apply to no other class of your citizens. I will hear nothing of degradation or of ignorance against the black man. If he knows enough to be hanged, he knows enough to vote. If he knows an honest man from a thief, he knows much more than some of our white voters. If he knows as much when sober as an Irishman knows when drunk, he knows enough to vote. If he knows enough to take up arms in defence of this government, and bare his breast to the storm of rebel artillery, he knows enough to vote (great applause).

Away with this talk of the want of knowledge on the part of the negro. I am about as big a negro as you will find anywhere about town; and any man that does not believe I know enough to vote, let him try it. I think I can convince him that I do. Let him run for office in my district and solicit my vote, and I will show him.

All I ask, however, in regard to the blacks, is that whatever rule you adopt, whether of intelligence or wealth, as the condition of voting, you should apply it equally to the black man. Do that, and I am satisfied, and eternal justice is satisfied. Liberty, fraternity, equality, are satisfied; and the country will move on harmoniously.

Mr. President, I have a patriotic argument in favor of insisting upon the immediate enfranchisement of the slaves of the South; and it is this. When this rebellion shall have been put down, when the arms shall have fallen from the guilty hands of traitors, you will need the friendship of the slaves of the South, of those millions there. Four or five million men are not of inconsiderable importance at any time; but they will be doubly important when you come to reorganize and reestablish republican institutions in the South. Will you mock those bondmen by breaking their chains with one hand, and with the other giving their rebel masters the elective franchise and robbing them of theirs? I tell you the negro is your friend. You will make him your friend by emancipating him. But you will make him not only your friend in sentiment and heart by enfranchising him, but you will make him your best defender, your best protector against the traitors and the descendants of those traitors, who will inherit the hate, the bitter revenge which will crystalize all over the South and seek to circumvent the government that they could not throw off. You will need the black man there, as a watchman and patrol; and you may need him as a soldier. You may need him to uphold in peace, as he is now upholding in war, the star-spangled banner (applause). I wish our excellent friend, Senator Wilson, would bend his energies to this point as well as the other—to let the negro have a vote. It will be helping him from the jaws of the wolf. We are surrounded by those that, like the wolf, will use their jaws, if you give the elective franchise to the descendants of the traitors and keep it from the black man. We ought to be the voters there. We ought to be the members of Congress (applause). You may as well make up your minds that you have got to see something dark down that way. There is no way to get rid of it. I am a candidate already (applause).

For twenty-five years, Mr. President, you know that when I got as far South as Philadelphia, I felt that I was rubbing against my prison wall, and could not go any further. I dared not go over yonder into Delaware. Twenty years ago, when I attended the first Decade meeting of this Society, as I came along the vales and hills of Gettysburg, my good friends, the anti-slavery people along there, warned me to remain in the house during the day time and travel in the night, lest I should be kidnapped and carried over into Maryland. My good friend, Dr. Fussell, was one of the number who did not think it safe for me to attend an anti-slavery meeting along the borders of this State. I can go down there now. I have been down there to see the President; and as you were not there, perhaps you may like to know how the President of the United States received a black man at the White House. I will tell you how he received me—just as you have seen one gentleman receive another (great applause); with a hand and a voice, well balanced between a kind cordiality and a respectful reserve. I tell you I felt big there (laughter). Let me tell you how I got to him; because everybody can't get to him. He has to be a little guarded in admitting spectators. The manner of getting to him gave me an idea that the cause was rolling on. The stairway was crowded with applicants. Some of them looked eager; and I have no doubt some of them had a purpose in being there, and wanted to see the President for the good of the country! They were white, and as I was the only dark spot among them, I expected to have to wait at least half a day; I had heard of men waiting a week; but in two minutes after I sent in my card, the messenger came out and respectfully invited "Mr. Douglass" in. I could hear, in the eager multitude outside, as they saw me pressing and elbowing my way through, the remark, "Yes, damn it, I knew they would let the nigger through;" in a kind of despairing voice—a Peace Democrat, I suppose (laughter). When I went in, the President was sitting in his usual position, I was told, with his feet in different parts of the room, taking it easy [laughter]. Don't put this down, Mr. Reporter, I pray you; for I am going down there again to-morrow [laughter]. As I came in and approached him, the President began to rise [laughter]; and he continued rising until he stood over me [laughter]; and reached out his hand and said, "Mr. Douglass, I know you; I have read about you, and Mr. Seward has told me about you"; putting me quite at ease at once.

Now you will want to know how I was impressed by him. I will tell you that, too. He impressed me as being just what every one of you have been in the habit of calling him—an honest man [applause]. I never met with a man, who, on the first blush, impressed me more entirely with his sincerity, with his devotion to his country, and with his determination to save it at all hazards [applause]. He told me [I think he did me more honor than I deserve] that I had made a little speech somewhere in New York, and it had got into the papers, and among the things I had said was this: That if I were called upon to state what I regarded as the most sad and most disheartening feature in our present political and military situation, it would not be the various disasters experienced by our armies and our navies, on flood and field, but it would be the tardy, hesitating, and vacillating policy of the President of the United States; and the President said to me, "Mr. Douglass, I have been charged with being tardy, and the like"; and he went on and partly admitted that he might seem slow; but he said, "I am charged with vascillating; but Mr. Douglass, I do not think that charge can be sustained; I think it cannot be shown that when I have once taken a position I have ever retreated from it" [applause]. That I regarded as the most significant point in what he said during our interview. I told him that he had been somewhat slow in proclaiming equal protection to our colored soldiers and prisoners; and he said that the country needed talking up to that point. He hesitated in regard to it when he felt that the country was not ready for it. He knew that the colored man throughout this country was a despised man, a hated man, and knew that if he at first came out with such a proclamation, all the hatred which is poured on the head of the negro race would be visited on his Administration. He said that there was preparatory work needed, and that that preparatory work had now been done. And he said, "Remember this, Mr. Douglass; remember that Milliken's Bend, Port Hudson, and Fort Wagner are recent events; and that these were necessary to prepare the way for this very proclamation of mine." I thought it was reasonable; but came to the conclusion that while Abraham Lincoln will not go down to posterity as Abraham the Great, or as Abraham the Wise, or as Abraham the Eloquent, although he is all three, wise, great, and eloquent, he will go down to posterity, if the country is saved, as Honest Abraham [applause]; and going down thus, his name may be written anywhere in this wide world of ours, side by side with that of Washington, without disparaging the latter [renewed applause].

But we are not to be saved by the captain at this time, but by the crew. We are not to be saved by Abraham Lincoln, but by that power behind the throne, greater than the throne itself. You and I and all of us have this matter in hand. Men talk about saving the Union, and restoring the Union as it was. They delude themselves with the miserable idea that that old Union can be brought to life again. That old Union, whose canonized bones we so quietly inurned under the shattered walls of Sumter, can never come to life again. It is dead, and you cannot put life in it. The first ball shot at Sumter caused it to fall as dead as the body of Julius Cæsar when stabbed by Brutus. We do not want it. We have outlived the old Union. We had outlived it long before the rebellion came to tell us—I mean the Union under the old pro-slavery interpretation of it—and had become ashamed of it. The South hated it with our anti slavery interpretation, and the North hated it with the Southern interpretation of its requirements. We had already come to think with horror of the idea of being called upon here in our churches and literary societies, to take up arms and go down South and pour the leaden death into the breasts of the slaves in case they should rise for liberty; and the better part of the people did not mean to do it. They shuddered at the idea of so sacrilegious a crime. They had already become utterly disgusted with the idea of playing the part of bloodhounds for the slave-masters, watch-dogs for the plantations. They had come to detest the principle upon which the slaveholding had a larger representation in Congress than the free States. They had already come to think that the little finger of dear old John Brown was worth more to the world than all the slaveholders in Virginia put together [applause]. What business, then, have we to fight for the old Union? We are not fighting for it. We are fighting for something incomparably better than the old Union. We are fighting for unity; unity of idea, unity of sentiment, unity of object, unity of institutions, in which there shall be no North, no South, no East, no West, no black, no white, but a solidarity of the nation, making every slave free, and every free man a voter [great applause].

Tribute to George Thompson.

THE PRESIDENT.—In 1830, when the great struggle was going on in England for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, a young man made his appearance in London and presented himself at the office of the Anti-Slavery Society, proposing to become a lecturer in the field. He was accepted, and went forth and vindicated the right of the slave to his freedom, and held up to the abhorrence of the English people the sin and the shame of West India slavery. Having seen that struggle successfully through, and carried through partly by his own efforts, on invitation from me, I being on that side of the Atlantic at the time, he generously turned his back on his well-won popularity and brightening prospects, and came over to our country to plead the same cause, and for the same class of victims, essentially, to be redeemed from the horrors of slavery, and to help make our land free, great and glorious. He came over in 1834, and was mobbed and hunted like a partridge on the mountains wherever he travelled. His words were irresistible; his eloquence was potent; and the enemies of emancipation knew full well that if he were permitted to have the ear of the people, he would sweep the whole country with the power of Niagara. And therefore they sought his life, and it was with the greatest difficulty that he got out of the country, and that his life was thereby saved.

In 1850 the same noble advocate of freedom ventured once more to come over to America and make us a visit. He was then a member of Parliament, representing the Tower Hamlets, and his reception was in many respects indicative of a very great and cheering change of public sentiment. Still he was dogged and hooted at, clamored down in public meetings, and every insult was heaped upon him by the enemies of emancipation.

The same individual contemplates coming to our country in the course of the present month, to begin the joyous new year with us, and to give us his congratulations in view of the progress of the glorious cause, and once more look into the faces of his old friends [applause]. I therefore offer the following resolution to the Society:

Resolved, That this meeting, learning that it is the purpose of our honored and well-tried trans-Atlantic friend and coadjutor, GEORGE THOMPSON, soon to revisit this country, extends to him in advance fraternal welcome and warm congratulation; and, voluntarily consecrating himself as he has done, for nearly three years past, in the most generous, disinterested and self-sacrificing manner, to the service of our country and the support of the American government, and to the work of thwarting the insidious machinations of rebel emissaries abroad, and stimulating the popular sentiment of England to proclaim its abhorrence of the accursed Slaveholders' Rebellion, and to compel the British government to withhold all recognition of the Southern Confederacy, we feel that we may assure him, in behalf of all loyal men in the country, a grateful recognition of his patriotic services, and a flattering ovation wherever he may have an opportunity to address them.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Tribute to Benjamin Lundy.

THE PRESIDENT.—During our meetings our friends have been giving reminiscences; and if you will allow me, for a moment, to revert to the past, I will tell you how I became an Abolitionist, that honor may be given to whom honor is due, to one whose memory ought to be preserved to the latest generation as the distinguished pioneer in this great struggle.

In 1827 I went to Boston and edited a paper called *The National Philanthropist*. It was devoted to the cause of Temperance. Up to that hour I had known little or nothing of slavery, as to the number of slaves held, or as to where they were held. So completely had the whole question been put out of sight, that I was almost wholly ignorant in respect to it. Among my exchange papers I received a little dingy monthly periodical, called *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, published in the city of Baltimore, by Benjamin Lundy, a member of the Society of Friends. On reading it, my attention was of course instantly arrested, and my interest awakened. I was beginning to be initiated in the broad and good work of reform. As I read it my heart was touched, and my understanding enlightened. I wrote for my paper a friendly notice of the publication, and again and again referred to it. After a little while, who should knock at the door of our house but Benjamin Lundy from Baltimore, very desirous to see me, on an anti-slavery mission to Boston? Then I had an opportunity to become personally acquainted with him, and from his own lips to gain that information of which I was so destitute. He warmed my heart and fired my spirit; and I did at that time all that I could to facilitate the object of his visit by getting up anti-slavery meetings for him, obtaining subscribers for his paper, etc., etc.

In 1828, I went to Bennington, Vermont, and edited a paper called *The Journal of the Times*, which was in part a political and in part a reformatory paper. When the gentlemen came to me from Vermont to see if I would edit the paper, they told me it was to be in favor of the election of John Quincy Adams as against Andrew Jackson; and as I was decidedly in favor of Mr. Adams, and had some distrust of military men, I could readily accede to their views. But I said, gentlemen, if I go, I must have the liberty of advocating in the columns of the paper the Anti-Slavery cause, and the Temperance cause, the Peace cause, and the cause of Moral Reform. It was a very singular kind of political

paper; but they gave me *carte blanche*, and I agreed to undertake the enterprise. The anti-slavery feeling which I had imbibed in Boston was growing more and more into my soul, and I wrote more and more on that subject for my paper. The consequence was, that one day, who should present himself again at my door but Benjamin Lundy of Baltimore? He had taken his staff in hand and travelled all the way to the Green Mountains. He came to lay it on my conscience and my soul, that I should join him in this work of seeking the abolition of slavery; and he so presented the case, with the growing disposition that I had to take hold of the cause, that I said to him, I will join you as soon as my engagement ends here; and then we will see what can be done.

The proposition upon his part was, that we should convert the little monthly into a large and handsome weekly paper. I was to be the principal editor, while he was to be a travelling editor and lecturer, for the purpose of diffusing information and getting subscribers. But he did not assist me a great deal in that way, because, as soon as I got to Baltimore, I had my eyes opened in regard to the absurdity and delusion of gradual emancipation; and I said to my friend Lundy, "If I join you now, I must hoist the banner of immediate, unconditional, everlasting emancipation" [applause]. He said, "Very well; write as you choose; and as you feel that you must go for Immediate Emancipation, put your initials to your articles, and I will put my initials to mine; and then the readers will know how to divide the responsibility between us. To this I agreed. But I drove off subscribers four or five times as fast as he could get them! From the moment that the doctrine of Immediate Emancipation was enunciated in the columns of *The Genius*, as it had not been up to that hour, it was like a regular bombshell in the camp of the subscribers themselves; and from every direction letters poured in that they had not bargained for such a paper as that, or for such doctrines; and they desired to have no more copies sent to them. So that the experiment failed, and we had to separate. Benjamin Lundy took his paper and had it transformed again into a little monthly, which afterwards passed from his hands and became *The Pennsylvania Freeman*.

Now if, under God, I have in any way, however humble, done anything toward calling attention to the question of slavery, or bringing about the glorious prospect of a complete jubilee in our country at no distant day, I feel that I owe everything in this matter, instrumentally, and under God, to Benjamin Lundy. For had it not been for him, I know not where I should have been at the present time. My eyes might have been sealed for my whole lifetime, and possibly, though I trust in God I could not have been, I might have been led off in some direction or other, so far as even to care nothing for slavery in our country. I feel it due to the memory of one who devoted so many years of his life so faithfully, so boldly, and with so few friends, that I should state this reminiscence.

Mr. Garrison, after paying this tribute to Mr Lundy, closed his address as follows:

It has been very pleasant to me to see how united we have been all the way through this meeting; not one, apparently, disposed to censure anything said here in favor of universal liberty. It is very pleasant indeed to my spirit. Sometimes, I know, eggs and brickbats are to be preferred to popular good-will and approval. Sometimes popular good-will and approval are to be preferred to rotten eggs and brickbats. Other things being equal, popular good-will and approval are preferable to brickbats and rotten eggs. As no principle has been compromised, as we have been faithful to our duty, as we have endeavored to remember those in bonds as bound with them, it is cheering to see this large assembly, and the tens and hundreds of thousands elsewhere, all mingling together and forgetting the things that are behind and pressing onward to the high mark of our calling, immediate and everlasting emancipation [applause].

Two or three questions, and I conclude: Do you wish to see this rebellion put down? [VOICES—"Yes." "Yes."] What is it in this country that has rebelled? Is it freedom? No. Then it is slavery that is in rebellion, is it not? Are you for the abolition of slavery? ["Yes," "Yes."] So am I; and it is an unanimous vote. Amen and amen; glory, hallelujah [applause]. In carrying this thing through, though at first it must be through the desolation of war, by the depravity and fiendish obstinacy of the South, carrying it through will not be to curse the South, but to bless her with freedom and free institutions, free speech, a free press, free men, and free laborers, to open the windows of heaven, and to cause God to pour down his blessings, so that there shall not be room to contain them. Oh, the glorious prospect beyond this war! The glorious hope of thus repaying the South for her oppression, not with vengeance but with love and with good will! We are struggling to save the slaveholders as men. We are struggling to redeem the slaves as men. In their redemption the land shall be redeemed, and God shall be our God, and peace shall be all through our borders from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and there shall be none to molest or to make afraid. Our work is before us, not completed, as has well and often been said to-day. It is going on. We will not yield one jot or tittle; we will not grow weary, until the work is completed.

"Gray Plymouth Rock hath yet a tongue,
And Concord is not dumb;
And voices from our fathers' graves
And from the future come;
They call on us to stand our ground;
They charge us still to be
Not only free from chains ourselves,
But foremost to make free."

ANNIE DICKINSON followed with a glowing and eloquent appeal, of which, as we have no adequate report, we will not attempt to give a sketch. Suffice it to say that she was received with great enthusiasm, and that her remarks gave great pleasure to the crowded assembly.

The Society then adjourned *sine die*.

"PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND."

THE Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society congratulate its members and friends that, through the madness, rebellion, and secession of the South, avowedly in behalf of its Heaven-accursed and world-abhorred slave system—involving the country in a civil war of the hugest proportions and the most sanguinary character, which still continues its desolating work—the constitutional powers of the Federal government are now ample to decree the immediate and total abolition of slavery. They believe that, as a measure of national peace and unity, of humanity and justice, such a decree should be passed by the ensuing Congress at as early a period in the session as practicable—thus not only sustaining the Emancipation proclamation of President Lincoln of January 1st, 1863, but also effectually disposing of that remnant of the slave institution which was exempted by the proclamation aforesaid, in such a manner as may seem most equitable and expedient by Congress.

The warrant for this procedure is to be found in the still greatly imperilled state of the republic, and in the legitimate functions of the government that may be exercised in such an alarming crisis. By common law, an individual has the right of self-defence by all means recognized by that law. In view of international law, a nation is an individual, and has the right of self-defence by all means recognized by that law; one of those means being the destruction of any dynasty or institution that imperils national life. Slavery has struck at the life of the nation, and declared its own existence incompatible with that of the nation. Hence the nation, acting through its official organs, has the right to abolish slavery throughout its dominions; and past events demonstrate alike the necessity and duty of exercising this right without delay and without compromise.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, therefore, deeply impressed with the importance of a general coöperation of the friends of impartial liberty at this time, in order to influence and secure the action of Congress in the manner described, hereby announce, that they have resolved to put forthwith into the lecturing field as many agents as the funds of the Society will warrant, whose sole work shall be to enlighten the public mind on this subject, stimulate to a wide-spread movement in favor of universal emancipation, and thus make the recurrence of another SLAVEHOLDERS' REBELLION an impossible event.

To sustain and increase the number of these agents, the Committee solicit the generous contribution and donations of all who desire to see the speedy suppression of the war, and in the fullest sense "LIBERTY AND UNION" made "ONE AND INSEPARABLE."

In furtherance of this patriotic and Christian object, the "Woman's Loyal National League" at New York has taken the field, in advance, to procure to a petition to the next Congress, for the total abolition of slavery, A MILLION OF SIGNATURES on the part of the loyal women of the republic. It deserves all possible encouragement and success, and we shall extend to it the heartiest coöperation. But let the loyal MEN be equally zealous and resolved to be as potentially heard in the same manner, by the same body. Let such a petition be sent to Congress from every city, town, village and hamlet in all the loyal States. No time is to be lost. "*One last, best effort now!*"

The Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society is WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, Esq., 8 Railroad Exchange, Boston, Mass. Donations may also be sent to OLIVER JOHNSON, Esq., Anti-Slavery Office, 48 Beekman street, New York, and to J. MILLES MCKIM, Anti-Slavery Office, 106 North Tenth street, Philadelphia, Pa.

☞ Editors of newspapers friendly to the object here announced, are respectfully requested to insert this announcement in their columns.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 26, 1863.

WE conclude, this week—not without considerable inconvenience—the Report of the Decade meeting, lately held in Philadelphia. We are compelled, however, to defer till next week several Letters, addressed to the meeting by JOHN JAY, Esq., and others, for which we hoped to find room to-day. Mr. Parkhurst, we think, deserves much credit for the manner in which he has performed his arduous duties. There are in the report, doubtless, some mistakes, resulting from the necessary inaccuracies of extemporaneous speaking and the liability of the reporter to misunderstand, now and then, the speaker's meaning. Each speaker is hereby requested to revise his speech carefully, and to point out such errors as he may discover to Rev. Samuel May, Jr., Anti-Slavery Office, Boston, who will see that the needful corrections are made for the pamphlet edition of the Proceedings.

THE WORK BEFORE CONGRESS.

THE Thirty-eighth Congress has begun its political existence well. It has put forth promising blossoms and buds, and we will hope that some of them, at least, will bring forth fruit accordingly. There never was a Congress that had so fair a chance of making itself immortal by its good works, and, to do it justice, it has shown itself willing to avail itself of it. At any rate, the beginnings have been made. Mr. Hale, in the Senate, has introduced a bill, by unanimous consent, to prohibit the holding of persons in servitude, except by contract, for the purpose of more effectually suppressing the rebellion. Mr. Stevens, in the House, has introduced a bill for rectifying the injustice by which black soldiers have been treated, not as such, but as quartermaster's *employés*, without bounty or pension and with lower pay. By his bill, which will undoubtedly become a law, such soldiers are put on precisely the same footing as to bounty, pay and pension as their white comrades. He has also introduced a bill for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Acts of 1793 and 1850. Mr. Sumner has also moved in this matter in the Senate. Mr. Wilson, of Wisconsin, has moved an amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery by the direct action of the people. Then Mr. Eliot has moved for the establishment of a Bureau of Emancipation, to take charge of the interests of the Freedmen and to promote the policy of the proclamation, one of the most important practical measures that could be proposed, and which we trust will not fail of success. Mr. Lovejoy has shown himself still worthy of the name he bears by proposing a bill of two sections of brief enactment, declaring all slaves in Territories or States free citizens, and making their reënslavement a crime to be punished as such. And a Committee of Nine has been raised to report the Ordinance necessary to carry into effect that clause of the Constitution, for seventy years a dead letter in half the States, guaranteeing to every State a republican form of government. There are other propositions, analogous or auxiliary to these or some of them, of excellent inspiration, but these are enough for our present occasions.

Who would have believed it possible that such an array of extreme doctrines would ever be summoned even to appear in the presence of Congress, three years ago? And not only summoned to the presence, but some of them certain of being organized out of ideas into legislation, and almost all not absolutely hopeless of such a conclusion. We think that all these propositions are politically possible, excepting, perhaps, that for the alteration of the Constitution. The necessity of having a two-thirds vote of both Houses before such an amendment can be submitted to the people, would make such an attempt unlikely, if not impossible, of success, in the present House. All the other propositions can be, and should be, carried with the majorities which the Administration can command. And we trust that this one will be urged to a vote, both for the advantage of the discussion and for the testing of spirits in and out of Congress. Mr. Lovejoy's bill covers the whole ground, however, and satisfies all that the anti-slavery public, North and South, have ventured to hope or to ask for. If the President, under the military necessities of the nation, can abolish slavery in the rebel country, Congress certainly, under the same law of self-preservation, can abolish it everywhere. If this be done, the Fugitive Slave law falls to the ground for want of support. It may be well to knock the monster on the head in the first place, as an act of justice, but it would perish of necessity for lack of prey, whether the *coup de grace* be given it or not. This would also include the protection of freedmen, and the punishment of those attempting to make slaves of them again, and it would be the most effectual support possible given to the President's proclamation. Besides, it would settle the question of the equality of black with white soldiers, by the abolition of the servile estate out of which sprung the invidious and unjust distinction between them. At the same time, we hope to see all these measures pressed, so that we may have justice in the detail if not in the gross. Surplusage is better worth than deficiency. The rights of the blacks, now more and more seen to be inextricable from those of the whites, cannot be too strongly secured and fortified against the attacks which will be sure to be made against them, if not made morally and politically impossible.

The question of the Reconstruction of the rebel country and its restoration to National rights again, is the most important that can occupy the attention of this Congress, always excepting the legislative "abolishment" of slavery. This, we must think, rests with Congress, notwithstanding the offer made by the President to the rebel States in his late proclamation. We would be the last to say or do anything to check or stay the extremest exercise of that necessary and wholesome despotism which must reside somewhere in every government in danger of its life, and which rests in the President as the Commander-in-Chief, in time of war. But there are limits even to this despotic power, and we must hold that the President overpassed them when he constructed the bridge by which the rebels could get back into Congress again. To pardon their treason and to remit their forfeitures, whether expedient or not, we suppose came within the purview of the Confiscation Act, if not involved in the Pardoning Power itself; but to declare that they could be reinstated in their rights of citizenship, and then revive their State governments whenever a tenth part of the number voting at the last Presidental Election would take certain oaths, we think must be held by Congress as not within his power to do. To have a State erected within a State in flagrant rebellion, by men who have been adjudged by the Supreme Court to be all rebels and enemies in law, however loyal in heart, and that by so very small a proportion of the inhabitants, would be to create an *imperium in imperio*, with a vengeance. We think Congress will consider that the restoration of Federal rights to inhabitants of the rebel States must await the final suppression of the rebellion. At any rate, that Congress is to settle the terms of any partial political resurrection. Indeed, it would rest with Congress in the last resort to pass upon the matter whenever any person presented himself as a member of either House, as the necessary judges of the membership of their own bodies. The question would then come up whether he were properly elected, and whether a compliance with the terms of the President's Proclamation was sufficient to make his election a valid one. But it would be better to have this most important question deliberately and definitively settled, so as to save the ship of State from possible pirates in disguise. We should question the expediency, even if it be legal, of admitting members of Congress from a tenth of any State in open rebellion, through whatsoever strait gate of hard swearing, as we should doubt the wisdom of the Navy Department in manning our ships with rebel prisoners, as we see has been lately proposed.

As we said in the beginning, this Congress has had laid out for it by its members the most glorious work ever proposed to a legislative body. It has the opportunity of righting the wrongs which our ancestors unwisely organized into political duties. It can rid the nation of the burden of sin which has caused it to stumble and fall in its onward path of prosperity and glory. It can remove the only occasion of division and offence that can cause sectional jealousies and quarrels. It can make the identity of Carolina and Massachusetts as perfect and absolute, as to interests and sentiments, as that of New Hampshire and Maine or of New York and Pennsylvania. It can restore wealth and beauty to the desolated and depopulated South, more desolated and depopulated by slavery than even by war. It can make the United States the freest, the richest, the most powerful nation on the face of the earth. It can do this by effectually destroying the domestic enemy which has been dividing and distracting us, impoverishing and weakening us, degrading and disgracing us. Now is the golden moment. Now is the accepted time, and now is the day of salvation. If this opportunity be not used it will pass away, as opportunities will do. If the fleet angel be not held fast he will not stay and bless us. There is too much eagerness to believe that slavery is already dead and that it cannot be resuscitated. It is not dead. It is still crouching in its lair ready for a deadly spring upon us. Within a month it has stretched out its claws and seized a victim, kept bound for it by our laws within sight of the President's House. And a conspiracy exists, with members in the very Cabinet, to give it a long reprieve, if not to restore it to all its old ascendancy. By the ordination of God it was doomed to die when it was first born of Sin and Death. But it has lived and flourished for near two hundred and fifty years, and it has vitality enough to last for long years yet, if it be left to natural processes and not swiftly and effectually dispatched. This can now be done by this Congress. Perhaps no other Congress will have the same power and the same opportunity. We will not doubt that the opportunity will be seized and the power put forth with wisdom and with might.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21, 1863.

CONGRESS has made no progress in legislation yet, nor is it likely to go to work in earnest till after the holidays. There is more work pressing upon it, that needs doing, but the members feel more anxious to spend the holidays at home than to pass bills. Senator Wilson desires to pass a bill amending the Conscription Act previous to the next draft, but there is no disposition in the House to hurry matters. Some of the more thoughtful members of Congress perceive that to strike out the famous $300 clause in the present Conscription Act will deprive the government of one of its most powerful levers, which has been and can still be used against slavery. It was that which gave slavery such a terrble blow in Baltimore last Fall. The government is at liberty to offer the commutation money for colored recruits. In Maryland it offered $300 to the slaveholder for each slave who should enlist, and to the slave his freedom. The proposed amendments in the Senate will put an end to this business, for one of them provides that hereafter (after Jan. 5th) there shall be no bounties offered to volunteers. As another amendment abolishes the $300 clause of the present Conscription Act, of course the government cannot offer bounties either to the master or to the slave. Gen. Schenck, in the House, taking this view of the subject, is inclined to oppose the proposed repeal of the clause.

The Peace Democrats have completely broken down in Congress. There is nothing left of them, and they are, even the leaders, becoming ashamed of themselves. I was a good deal surprised to see Fernando Wood himself dodge the resolution offered by Mr. Smith of Kentucky. It was a very mild resolution, but nevertheless it could bear but one interpretation—it favored the vigorous prosecution of the war. Fernando Wood, who pledged himself in New Jersey to an opposition to the war, *dodged* the vote! Now when such eminent rascals as Wood are afraid to vote against a war-resolution in Congress, it is a very good sign that the times are improving rapidly, and that the sentiment of the country is very strongly in favor of the war. A month ago it was feared that the present House would be so closely divided that there would be trouble in passing certain important measures, but it turns out that the Administration party never was much stronger in the House than it is this Winter. On most questions the government will have a majority of forty votes, and on questions arraying parties very rigidly it can steadily command a majority of from ten to twenty votes. This is quite as large a majority as it is desirable to have in the House at any time.

A Special Committee will soon be appointed in the Senate upon the subject of Emancipation. It is proposed that it shall be a Joint Committee of both branches of Congress. It should be. This is the era of Special and Select Committees in Congress. We have several already, and are soon to have more. The House, on motion of Winter Davis of Baltimore, has raised a Committee upon the condition of the rebellious States. It will take charge of the question of Reconstruction, and the report will be a very able argument without a doubt. Some of the best men in the House are upon this Committee. Mr. Gooch of Massachusetts, a very able lawyer and a Radical in politics, is second on this Committee. If a Committee on Emancipation is raised it will have a fine subject for consideration and a plenty of work to do, for there are at least twenty men in Congress who will present bills for the abolition of slavery in the rebel States. The most important subject, however, next to the war itself, which will be brought before Congress, is that of the Freedmen, their present condition and future welfare. A Freedman's Bureau will unquestionably be established by Congress, as it should be, and it is to be hoped that a competent man will be put at its head. There are so many office-seekers in these latter days that it is not often that an office is presented to an individual, however fit he is for it or however strong his claims for it may be. It is not unusual for an ambitious man to come on here and wait an entire session, watching the project in Congress as it matures into a bill, and afterwards into a law, and then leaping at once to its head. If a Freedman's Bureau is established, the friends of freedom should *insist* that a man of fine abilities and of long service in the cause should be put at its head.

The President has made up his mind, I feel certain, to remove Gen. Schofield from command in Missouri; he probably is removed at the present moment. This is a great triumph of the Radicals and augurs well for the future. The National League had its influence upon the President when it was here, and no intelligent person could doubt for a moment that two-thirds of the Republicans of the country are Radical in their views upon the slavery question, if those delegates represented the districts from which they came. Mr. Lincoln cannot afford to offend the most earnest of his friends throughout the country, and all to please such miserable turn-coats as the Blairs, and he will not do it. The Blairs will remain in office, perhaps, in the person of Montgomery, the Postmaster-General, but they will be shorn of their influence hereafter. The Rockville speech is the rock upon which they have dashed their barque, and the Radicals will be thankful for it if it have such a result.

The Secessionists of this vicinity have been very dejected for the last two or three weeks, in fact ever since Gen. Grant won his handsome victory at Chattanooga. They evidently begin to fear that there is no hope for the rebellion. The Secession women hold out longest in their faith in slavery and the South, but even they grow tremulous, and somewhat courteous to Northern men. I know of Southern women in this town, who, one year ago, would not speak to a man who was loyal, and now they are exceedingly civil to Radical Republicans. *The Chronicle* (Col. Forney's paper) has a lively correspondent with the Army of the Potomac. In his last letter, dated at Culpepper, he gives a clever sketch of Southern women. He says:

"One class of the town ladies are Radical; another Conservative; and the last is what, in English politics, might be termed a "liberal compound." The first believe it their bounden duty to revile every one who stands before them clad in a suit of blue. Such forget that the first and most important quality of a female's disposition is sweetness of temper. Heaven preserve all loyal men from the natural weapons of shrews, viragoes, and termagants! A munificent Creator never made woman weak that she might be imperious and a brawler. Neither were insinuation and persuasion bestowed without measure upon the sex, that they should be rude, surly, or sinister. A sweet voice loses its charm in scolding; the most beautiful features are disfigured by anger. The tenets of those who belong to the third denomination I have enumerated are more difficult to describe than either of the other two. They visit our commissariat often, know the location of every sutler in town, and profess a knowledge of the heart's history of all their acquaintances. If they see one of their class walking with a Union soldier they frown, go home 'nursing their wrath to keep it warm.' Most of their time is spent in an enthusiastic search for skeletons among the closets of their friends. Despising the North, they love its finery. Hating the Yankees, they crave their nutmegs. Adorning the outside of their heads, they care not to embellish the interior."

One Southern lady here (and she is really a lady), whose friends are in the rebel army, and who is herself a violent enemy of this government, condescended the other day to rent a suite of rooms to Gen. Schenck, and I dare say if Gen. Butler ("Butler the Beast") had been here and had offered $25 more a month, she would have taken him in instead, and would have cared for him kindly. *Money* will accomplish a great deal even among high-minded Southern knights and ladies!

AVON.

Proceedings of Congress.

In the Senate, on the 16th, Mr. Wade of Ohio presented a memorial from ladies, asking the passage of an act for the emancipation of all persons of African descent. Referred to the Committee. Mr. Wilson of Mass. presented a memorial from the officers of the Fourth and Sixth Massachusetts colored regiments, asking for the same pay and bounty as are allowed to other troops. Referred to the Military Committtee. The joint resolution of thanks to Gen. Grant was adopted. On the 17th Mr. Hale of N. H. rose to a "privileged question"—to explain his course in consenting to act as counsel in securing the release of men charged with offences against the United States. He submitted a resolution, which was adopted, instructing the Judiciary Committee to inquire whether he had "been guilty of any conduct inconsistent with his duty as a Senator." Mr. Harlan of Iowa introduced a bill for the relief of the Judges of the Supreme Court, providing that the President may, at the desire of the Chief Justice or of any one of the Associate Justices who is over 70 years of age, place his name on a retired list, his compensation to be from $4,000 to $6,000, according to the length of previous service. This is a gentle hint to Chief Justice Taney. The following message was received from the President:

Herewith I lay before you a letter addressed to myself, by a committee of gentlemen, representing the Freedmen's Aid Society in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati. The subject of the letter, as indicated above, is one of great magnitude and importance, and one which these gentlemen of known ability and high character seem to have considered with great care. Not having time to form a mature judgment of my own as to whether the plan they suggest is the best, I submit the whole subject to Congress, deeming that their attention thereto is almost imperatively demanded.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

On the 18th Mr. Howe of Wisconsin presented a memorial from citizens of that State asking that some action be taken with a view to the amendment of the Constitution to prohibit slavery in all the States and Territories. Mr. Grimes of Iowa also presented one of a similar kind. A debate on the new rule, requiring Senators to take a certain form of oath (intended to purge the body of men who sympathize with the rebellion) occupied most of the session. On Monday, Mr. Harlan of Iowa presented a petition from citizens of that State, praying for the total abolition of slavery. On Tuesday Mr. Wilson of Mass. introduced a bill concerning members of Congress, as follows:

"No Senator, Representative, or Delegate in Congress shall, during his continuance in office as such, be employed, with or without compensation, as attorney or counsel, directly or indirectly, in any cause, or matter, in which the United States are interested as a party, or otherwise, pending or to be heard or determined in any Court, or before any department or tribunal whatsoever, either civil or military."

The House resolution, appropriating $20,000,000 for bounties, etc., was unanimously adopted.

In the House, on the 16th, the Speaker announced the Special Committee on the Rebellious States as follows: H. Winter Davis of Maryland, Gooch of Massachusetts, James C. Allen of Illinois, Ashley of Ohio, Fenton of New York, Holman of Indiana, Smithers of Delaware, Blow of Missouri, English of Connecticut. Mr. Robbins (Dem.) of Missouri, submitted the following:

Resolved, That prompted by patriotism, we are in favor of an earnest and successful prosecution of the war, and that we will give a warm and hearty support to all those measures, which will be most effective in speedily overcoming the rebellion, and in securing a restoration of peace, and which may not substantially infringe the Constitution and tend to subvert the true theory and character of the government; and we hereby reiterate that the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists now in revolt against the constitutional government; that in the progress of the war, Congress, banishing all feelings of mere passion or resentment, will recognize only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on our part in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, nor for the purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the honor, with all the dignity, equality and rights of the several States unimpaired; that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease.

A motion to lay the resolve on the table was lost—yeas 52, nays 115. It was then laid over under the rule. Mr. Edgerton of Indiana introduced some copperish resolutions relating to the *habeas corpus*, which were laid on the table, ayes 90, nays 66. Mr. Smith of Kentucky submitted a series of resolutions, of which the following is the first, viz.:

Resolved, That as our country and the very existence of the best government ever instituted by man, is imperilled by the most causeless and wicked rebellion that the world has ever seen, and believing as we do that the only hope of saving the country and preserving this government is by the power of the sword, we are for the most vigorous prosecution of the war until the Constitution and laws shall be enforced and obeyed in all parts of the United States, and to that end we oppose any armistice, or intervention, or mediation, or proposition for peace from any quarter so long as there shall be found a rebel in arms against the government; and we ignore all party names, lines and issues, and recognize but two parties in this war—patriots and traitors.

Mr. Craven moved to lay the resolutions on the table, which was disagreed to, 60 against 100. The resolution was then agreed to by a vote of 93 yeas to 64 nays. The next resolution of the series was adopted as follows, ayes 152, nay 1—Mr. Harris of Maryland:

Resolved, That we hold it to be the duty of Congress to pass all necessary bills to supply men and money, and the duty of the people to render every aid in their power to the constituted authorities of the Government in crushing out the rebellion.

The last resolution of the series was adopted, ayes 166—Mr. Harris only voting in the negative as before.

Resolved, That our thanks are tendered to our soldiers in the field for their gallantry in defending and upholding the flag of the Union, and defending the great principles dear to every American patriot.

On Monday the Speaker laid before the House the letter from the President quoted above in the proceedings of the Senate, and it was referred to the Committee on Emancipation. Mr. Yeaman (Border State, Ky.) offered a series of resolutions laying down the "Conservative plan of reconstruction." Referred to the Committee on the Rebellious States. A Special Committee was ordered to consider and report on the subject of a National Bankrupt act. Mr. Ashley of Ohio introduced a bill, which was referred, providing "A Provisional Government in the Military Districts of the Insurgent States, and authorizing the loyal citizens thereof to organize a government, Republican in form, and for other purposes." Mr. Miller (Dem., Pa.) offered a resolution respectfully requesting the President to promptly instruct those having charge of the exchange of prisoners to propose to the so-called Southern Confederacy to exchange white man for white man, leaving all other questions, including that relating to negro prisoners, to be disposed of hereafter, so that the suffering white men may be restored to the service of the government, their friends and firesides. The House refused, 73 against 85 to lay the resolution on the table. Mr. Washburne [Un., Ill.] offered a substitute for the above, declaring that the House approve of the measures taken by the Administration for the exchange of prisoners now held by the enemy in Southern prisons, and that the same course be pursued for a fair and just exchange of all our soldiers now held by the rebels. The question was taken, and Mr. Washburne's substitute adopted, 87 against 63. A bill appropriating $20,000,000 for the payment of bounties, advance pay and premiums for soldiers passed unanimously.

—On Wednesday the two Houses adjourned till Tuesday, Jan. 5.

CIRCULATE THE EMANCIPATION PETITION.

To the Editor of The National Anti-Slavery Standard.

I WAS sorry to hear that the Decade meeting at Philadelphia passed a resolution to petition Congress to amend the Constitution. I hope on consideration you will see the bad policy of all specific petitioning, whether to amend the Constitution, impeach the Judges of the Supreme Court, or to place the black and white soldiers on equal ground. Our Petition for Universal Emancipation covers all. Slavery abolished, no one will look behind the fair face of the Constitution for a heart of blackness and villainy. When not a slave breathes in this Republic, we care not for the decisions of Judge Taney or Judge Grier; and when black men have a chance to show themselves the heroes they are, they will soon settle the question of equality. Our work is to secure to them freedom at the earliest possible day.

We have decided to present the first installment of the million on the 14th of January, 1864, and shall continue to roll up signatures through the entire session—and so long as slavery exists and there is one man or woman left to protest against that excreable crime.

The enthusiasm that is steadily growing out of this movement is indeed promising. The petitions are coming in daily by hundreds and thousands. Yesterday one came from a little town of Wisconsin, with the signatures of 900 men and 900 women—all collected by one poor infirm widow, who had lost her husband and two sons in the war. In her letter she says, "I registered the names of all who refused to sign, that they may be handed over to the future scorn they so well deserve." In many of the petitions for women the place assigned to the residence is filled with facts of husbands, brothers and sons who have died in this struggle for freedom.

Such is the feeling among the mothers, wives, and daughters of the West. Where they dwell is to them of little consequence, while they live in the memory of those brave men who have been true to their country. One mail brought petitions from Kansas and New Orleans with hundreds of names.

As we keep the petitions from each State distinct, there is a chance to prove "State Rights," in this race for freedom!

At the last counting, New York is ahead! We who have watched this work from its beginning, through months of struggle, doubt and discouragement, are now cheered and surprised with the growing enthusiasm of the people everywhere. What we want is the united expression of the friends of freedom against slavery, from Maine to Louisiana. Inasmuch as the petition asking Congress to enact Universal Emancipation covers the whole ground, and is already in thorough circulation, North and South, East and West, do not let us distract the public mind, or weaken our action by changing the form of our petition.

Yours truly, E. CADY STANTON.

THE SANITARY FAIR AND THE GREAT ORGAN.—[Extract of a letter from O. B. F. to a friend in New York; dated Boston, Dec. 16.]—The opening of the grand Fair of the Sanitary here, I witnessed Monday evening, and most immense it was to be sure. An equal amount of material and spiritual splendor I never saw combined. Two figures looked down on it all, impressively—the great bronze Beethoven and old Josiah Quincy. It was enough to make a man cry to see the one and think of the other. Old Josiah sitting under the Beethoven with the organ behind him, battle flags around, and before him all the beauty and wealth and loyalty of Boston. The old man looked as unconscious as a child. But that New England pluck and nobility of his was the heart of it all. And I head the organ, and I must say that only hearing is believing. There is an air of immortality about it, and it sounds as if it had been played a hundred years, and had been seasoned and saturated, wood and metal, with the spirit of all the great masters. The tones are mellow and smooth, and soft as glowing wire, and as it is worked by the law of hydrostatics, so in its working there is that regularity and ease that suggests the action of a law of nature. It is the ideal instrument; it is all one dreams of in an instrument, and it is as beautiful as it is good.

WENDELL PHILLIPS was greeted by a crowded audience at the Cooper Institute on Tuesday evening. On motion of Mr. G. W. Smalley, John E. Williams, Esq., President of the Metropolitan Bank, took the chair, and in a few fit words, introduced the speaker, who was received with earnest applause. His address was mainly a critique, as generous in its tone as it was searching in argument, of the President's plan of Reconstruction as disclosed in his recent message to Congress. As we mean to print the speech in full, as soon as the author can revise it for us, we shall not attempt an epitome of it now. Suffice it to say that it evidently made a powerful impression upon the audience. When Mr. Phillips closed there were loud calls for Mr. Greeley, who occupied a seat on the platform, and he responded in a few pithy sentences, which elicited general applause. The Chairman then proposed three cheers for President Lincoln, which were given with a will, and then the audience dispersed.

WOMAN'S ONE POLITICAL RIGHT, TO PETITION.—Women of the Republic! here is your work in this battle for Freedom. Whilst our sires and sons are fighting with ballots and bullets, the enemy in front and traitors in the rear, let us, with the only political right granted us in the Constitution—the right of petition—do what we can to end slavery, and, with it, the war. By our earnestness and zeal in the exercise of this one right, let us prove ourselves worthy to make larger demands in the readjustment of the new government. E. C. S.

THE AMERICAN PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL, published monthly by Fowler and Wells, 308 Broadway, deals with questions of great practical importance, relating not only to the science of Phrenology, but to Physiology, Ethnology, Psychology, the Social Relations, etc. The January number is full of interesting matter on these and other subjects. See advertisement in another column.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

RECAPTURE OF THE CHESAPEAKE.

The steamer Chesapeake, lately seized by secession pirates on the passage from this city to Portland, has been recaptured. She was taken on the 17th by the gunboat Ella and Annie, Lieut.-Com. Nickels, at Sambro Harbor, N. S., twenty miles from Halifax. Only three of the pirate crew were made prisoners, the remainder, including Braine, their chief, having incontinently fled to the woods at sight of the Federal steamer. The Ella and Annie took the Chesapeake in tow, and carried her into the port of Halifax. Upon her arrival there an intense excitement was manifested, and a crowd at once rescued the pirates. The British government officials, who attempted to hold them, were seized by prominent citizens and prevented from performing their duty. The pirates all escaped and were sent off out of danger of further molestation. Dispatches from Halifax say that the rescue has excited the town beyond measure, and that the Provincial government will make every effort to recapture the criminals.

FROM CHARLESTON.

Advices from Charleston are to the 15th. There are further details of the loss of the Weehawken, from which it appears that 31 persons lost their lives. A prize, the sloop Josephine, had been taken. The bombardment goes slowly on. The late high tides and storms had washed away eight feet of the beach of Morris and Folly Islands.

FROM TENNESSEE.

Dispatches from Cumberland Gap to the 18th, say that Gen. Longstreet divided his army on the 14th, one part making an attack on Bean's Station and the other at Kelley's Ford, the design being to cut off Gens. Shackelford and Foster. A movement by Gen. Ferrero frustrated the plan. It is reported that Gen. Longstreet is killed, and that his forces are completely surrounded. Gen. Shackleford arrived at London on the 20th, en route for home. He left Blair's Cross-roads on the 16th. The battle of Bean's Station commenced on the 14th inst. at 2 o'clock, and lasted until dark. Gen. Shackleford held the ground until that time, when he withdrew with a loss of 150 to 200 killed and wounded. Our forces were concentrating at Blair's Cross-roads when Gen. Shackleford left.

FROM NEW-ORLEANS.

Advices from New Orleans are to the 13th. Three or four thousand troops, under Wirt Adams, Crosby, and Logan, appeared in the vicinity of Natchez about the 5th inst., attacked our forces under Gen. Gresham, and were repulsed and pursued. It is said that we took 800 prisoners. The steamer Von Phul, for St. Louis, was badly damaged by a rebel battery just above Bayou Sara on the 8th. A shell exploded in the pilot-house, killing Capt. Yeoman and Mr. Curry, the bar-tender. Nine boat-hands were wounded, three fatally. The boat was saved from utter destruction. Lieut. Gove of Boston and seven others of the 3d Massachusetts Cavalry were captured about the 7th near Port Hudson, by a party of Logan's men. Lieut. Gove was badly wounded, and four of his men more or less seriously injured.

OUR PRISONERS.

The statement that the rebel authorities refuse to receive any further supplies of food or clothing for our prisoners is now officially confirmed by letters from Gen. Meredith to Gen. Hitchcock. The reason is the alleged "persistent vilification and abuse," by the Northern press and public, in regard to the manner in which the rebels have carried out their part of the programme. Hereafter, the rebel authorities say, our soldiers will get precisely the same that theirs get in the field. It is reported from Washington that the exchange business has been committed to the hands of Gen. Butler, and that he is confident he can arrange the matter satisfactorily.

FROM TEXES.

The special correspondent at New Orleans of *The Boston Traveller*, under date of the 10th inst., says: Gen. Washburne holds the coast of Texas from the Rio Grande to within 100 miles of Galveston. Another division of the 13th Corps starts for the Texan coast today, and the expectation is that Galveston is the next place to be put down in the history of the war as having been reduced by the Unionists. Gen. Franklin is still at New Iberia with about four divisions. Gen. Weitzel goes North to join Gen. Butler's command in a few days. It is not known who takes his place yet.

Special Notices.

THE afternoon meeting of the Women's National League will be held at their office, room 20 Cooper Institute, Thursday afternoon of each week at 3 o'clock. Members, and all persons, men and women, wishing to coöperate in the work of the League—in rolling up Emancipation Petitions to Congress—are invited to attend.

Office open each day from 10 A. M. to 4 P. M.

A GENERAL EMANCIPATION ACT.—AARON M. POWELL and WENDELL P. GARRISON will speak at
Philmont, N. Y., Tuesday, Dec. 29.
Martindale, N. Y., Wednesday, Dec. 30.
Canaan, N. Y., Sunday, Jan. 3.
West Winfield, N. Y., Wednesday, Jan. 6.
Bridgewater, N. Y., Thursday, Jan. 7.
Rome, N. Y., Friday, Jan. 8.
Peterboro, N. Y., Sunday, Jan. 10.
Cazenovia, N. Y., Tuesday, Jan. 12.
De Ruyter, N. Y., Wednesday, Jan. 13.
Canastota, N. Y., Friday, Jan. 15.
Syracuse, N. Y., Sunday, Jan. 17.

UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION!—NEW HAMPSHIRE CAMPAIGN.—Stephen S. Foster will lecture in New Hampshire as follows:
Contoocookville, Monday, Dec. 28.
Henniker, Tuesday, Dec. 29.
Hillsborough, Wednesday, Dec. 30.

THE STANDARD.

THIRD DECADE MEETING.

Speech of Abby Kelley Foster.

[CONTINUED FROM FIRST PAGE.]

miraculous change. Whoever will come up now and speak a word for freedom, I will hail as a friend and a brother, and will leave his motives to God, to whom alone he is responsible.

Speech of Susan B. Anthony.

SUSAN B. ANTHONY said: Among the early lessons which I learned upon the abolition platform was this: That it was our distinctive work to educate the heart of the people of this nation into a full recognition of the humanity of the black man; that we were to so educate the people of the North that they would refuse to aid the government in holding the black man in chains; and I suppose that is precisely our work to-day. I remember that I had thought fugitive-slave work was very important and really anti-slavery; but I remember that one of the first lessons I had to learn was, that the fugitive slave would be aided by common philanthropy and benevolence, and that we, who called ourselves Radical Abolitionists, should give our attention, our thought, our efforts to the removal of the cause which compelled the fugitive, with bleeding feet, to cross the free States of the North to the British domain. It seems to me that the Sanitary Commission work, the Freedmen's Association, the Freedmen's Educational work, are to-day common charity, common benevolence, and the world will look after it. Here, in this third decade of the American Anti-Slavery Society, are assembled, from different parts of the free States, the representatives of a little handful of men and women over the country, who have for these thirty years been working to undermine the law of the nation which allows the holding of property in man. Precisely this is the work which I think we should abide by at this hour, leaving to the grand masses of the world, whose attention is now called to the question of liberty—to the question of saving this nation, to the question of emancipation even—leaving it to them to take care for the freedmen, to take care of the sick and wounded upon the battle-field. Let us go on with our primitive and fundamental work of removing the laws which allow of the existence of slavery.

That is the specific work to which the association to which I have been a member for the last six months (the Woman's Loyal League), has specially devoted itself. We aim to circulate throughout the entire North a petition, to be presented to the next Congress, asking that body to enact a law of Universal Emancipation. As women we felt that it was especially fitting for us to work in this way, because as women we could have no voice as to what should be the basis of reconstruction of this government, save through the one right which the nation has left to us, the right of petition. Women can neither take the ballot nor the bullet to settle this question. Therefore, to us, the right to petition is the one sacred right which we ought not to neglect. I appeal to women here to-day to set themselves about this work when they shall return to their homes; to circulate this emancipation petition, themselves, and to urge upon their neighbors and friends to engage in the work.

I know there are women here who would like to know something of the progress of this petition movement. I am sorry not to be able to make an enthusiastic and encouraging report; but the fact is, that wherever our petitions have been sent, from vastly too many places the responses have come back, "What do you mean by asking us to circulate a petition for emancipation? Is not the work already done? Has not the President proclaimed freedom? Is he not doing the work as fast as he can?" This has been the one great obstacle, the one great discouragement, which we have had to meet. Those who have hitherto occupied the highest places in our estimation have seemed the most indifferent, and to feel as if this was really an unnecessary work. Why should we, who have been at work for these long years, endeavoring to move slavery out of the way, when it has been the cause of all the national disasters and national strifes and discords which we have had, be afraid, in this last struggle, of doing too much?

The petitions to-day are being returned rapidly. Day before yesterday our mail brought four or five thousand signatures. I only hope that the people, at this hour, will begin to feel that there is need of a public expression. There is an important question to come before the next Congress—the question of reconstruction. I have no doubt that Senator Wilson himself would say to you this morning, if he were to speak, that the signatures of a million of men and women of the North, poured in upon Congress, will do much to encourage the members to stand fast by their principles. The Congress needs to know that the people, their constituencies, stand by them, and will demand of them the strictest faithfulness to freedom; and will not abide the slightest compromise of principle. It is for us to make them feel this.

THE PRESIDENT.—We shall now hear from one who represents a phase of this struggle most significant of the success of our movement. We have burned the bridge behind us, and there is no more going backward. We have passed the Rubicon; and we are going on, conquering and to conquer. You may read the utter overthrow of slavery in the arming of such a mighty host of the colored population of our country at the present time. I have the pleasure of introducing to you Col. Wagner, of Camp William Penn.

Speech of Col. Wagner.

MR. CHAIRMAN, AND LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: When I received, at the hands of the Chairman of your Business Committee, an invitation to attend your meeting, I feared that my duties at the camp would not permit me to be present. In coming here this moring, I did not expect to make a speech, and for two reasons: I am not able to make you a speech; and if I were, I would not assume to come here and preach abolition doctrines to those who learned them many years ago. I am not a member of this Anti-Slavery Society, unless I may be permitted to style myself a believing member—one who has never joined your association, but who has in some little measure contributed towards the abolition of slavery. I have graduated in that school where those who study become most thorough-going and emphatic Abolitionists. My Abolitionism is of but recent growth. When I entered the army I determined to do what I could to crush this rebellion. I believed, with hundreds of thousands of others, that it could be done without interfering with slavery. But I had been but a short time in the army when I saw that, to crush this rebellion, it was necessary to eradicate slavery. I had been there but a little while before I met our erring brethren on the field of battle, and, falling into their hands wounded and a prisoner, I was able to obtain information which I never possessed before. It was then and there that the conviction forced itself upon me that slavery must be abolished; and, friends and fellow-citizens, I tell you it *will* be abolished (applause).

I am sorry that some of your members are quarreling with the means for accomplishing the ends for which you have labored so long and so faithfully. For my part, I am willing to accept the assistance and receive the help of all who are willing to accomplish this great end of freeing our country from what has been a curse to it, and has stained and defaced our escutcheon. I hope none of the members of this Society will think of laying down their armor; but if they do, I am sure there are those who are ready and anxious to work until not a slave remains on our soil. I do not suppose for a moment that one who has been a member of this association for thirty years will think now, when the work is so nearly accomplished, of withdrawing, while yet so much remains to be done. A great deal remains to be done in the army, and a great deal by you who are at home. It is for you to uphold the hands of those who are administering the law at our Capital. Faithfully have you performed it in years past. I am confident that faithfully you will perform it, until the work for which you are associated shall be ended, and the rebellion shall be crushed.

I agree with you, Mr. Chairman, that one of the great means adopted by the government of this country in crushing this rebellion is the arming of the negro race. I believe that the arming of that class of our citizens will be the means of administering the last and crushing blow to slavery. At the South we are arming those who have been made free by the Emancipation Proclamation of our President. We also arm those who are still held in bondage. In Maryland, in Delaware, in Kentucky, and in Tennessee, we are receiving those who are not included in that Proclamation into the armies of the United States, and thereby giving them freedom.

I am not one of those who hope without reason, but I am confident that this war is drawing to a close. I am equally confident that it will never end until the last slave is made free. There was a time when I imagined that the colored man was not equal to the white man in intelligence. But if he is not—I do not say that he is not—give him for a few generations the opportunities that you enjoy, and he will make himself what it was intended by God that he should be, a man, in all respects, such as we are (applause). I look at this matter from a military stand-point. I look upon the soldiers of our own color, and upon those of a darker complexion. I have had some little experience with both; and my dispassionate opinion is, that the one is equal in every way to the other. The colored man makes as good a soldier as the white man. He obeys orders as promptly and as intelligently; he acquires the drill as perfectly, if not more so, than the white soldier. His valor he has proved on many a bloody field; his courage he has shown on the battle-field and in the hospital. And the day will come when he will show those that now look down upon him with contempt and reproach, that he is a man, willing to do and to dare all that other men do and dare, in striking for freedom and for the right.

MRS. MOTT inquired what had been the character of Camp William Penn, as to depredations upon property, as compared with camps of white soldiers.

Col. WAGNER.—I am pleased to be able to say, that no depredations of any kind have been committed by the soldiers of Camp William Penn. The friends of the colored soldiers have been pleasantly and agreeably surprised, to find them in this respect far superior to white soldiers in a similar position. I have never yet seen a camp of white soldiers, where depredations were not committed; but at Camp William Penn there have been no depredations. It is not owing to a more rigid discipline there; we have no other rules than those that govern white camps. But the men seem to feel the dignity and responsibility of their position (applause). They seem to realize that the world is looking at them, and watching the progress of their camps, and of those of their color who have taken upon themselves the duty of fighting for the country and the flag. They come to the camp, many of them, ragged and dirty; but when they put on the uniform, they feel that they are men, and that they can hold up their heads among men. They are glad to see that even they have now an opportunity of doing something for our flag and for our nation. Say what you please about the degradation of the negro, it is all nonsense. Give him an opportunity of showing what he is, and he will show himself a man.

THE PRESIDENT.—I can bear the same testimony with regard to the conduct of the colored regiments at Readville, in Massachusetts, where the 54th and 55th regiments were stationed. It is the universal testimony of the neighborhood and the whole region round about, that never before was there a regiment stationed in that neighborhood without depredations being committed; but since the colored regiments have been there, there have been no depredations.

Speech of Oliver Johnson.

OLIVER JOHNSON said: Looking back upon more than thirty years of personal identification with the anti-slavery movement, there is much that I could say, if I felt at liberty to occupy these precious moments. But I know there are many around me, who are anxious to address you, and therefore I will be brief.

Since I came to this meeting one thought has possessed me—one thought, hour by hour, and almost moment by moment; and it is the thought of what I, as an Abolitionist, owe to the anti-slavery cause. Something has been said here of sacrifices made for that cause. Sacrifices have indeed been made and sufferings endured by many true-hearted and noble friends—sacrifices and sufferings of which it does not become me to speak lightly; but I appeal to you all, even to those who have suffered and endured most, to say if the personal benefits derived from the advocacy of the slave's cause do not outweigh, a thousand fold, all the trials which you have been called to endure on its account? Nay, if those trials themselves have not, through the overruling interposition of God, been turned into blessings? Such at least is my own experience; and I am here to-day, with no memory of sacrifices made, but with a heart penetrated by a sense of gratitude for benefits received. The cause owes me nothing, but I am indebted to it beyond all power of payment or even of computation. It has enhanced for me every joy of life, transmuted pain to pleasure, brought light out of darkness, and crowned me with blessings indescribable and inestimable. There are no delights to be compared with those which we may earn by an unselfish devotion to a great and noble cause. My heart swells with thankfulness to God that he called me early to this work; that while I was but a boy, on my native hills in Vermont, I heard and heeded the trumpet call of Garrison, and, through sympathy with his spirit, learned to love him before I ever looked into his face. How vividly do I remember now the days of his imprisonment at Baltimore, and how my heart was thrilled in reading the noble lines which he inscribed on the walls of his cell, showing how, "in innocence, he was great and strong." How did I exult when he was released; with what interest did I watch his progress Northward, and when at length he arrived in Boston, with what eagerness did I embrace the first opportunity to take his hand and hear him plead the cause of the oppressed! From that moment I was an Abolitionist, and I look back now upon more than thirty years of earnest labor in the cause, regretting only that I have not been more entirely devoted to it, and have done so little in its behalf. It is little indeed that any of us have done for it, compared with what it has done for us. In laboring to break the chains of the slave, we have found deliverance from the fetters of superstition and priestcraft, and felt our minds and hearts expanding in the sunlight of God's highest truths. Reproached as infidels by a pro-slavery Church, we have found by experience that those who devote themselves to the cause of humanity "walk with God" and in the fellowship of his saints.

I entreat the young men and the young women here assembled, if they would enrich and ennoble their lives by the acquisition of whatever is most worthy of their ambition, to give themselves unreservedly to the work of reform—to take the side of the oppressed and the wronged, to cast their influence on the side of truth, however unpopular, and to allow no temptation of wealth or fame to swerve them by so much as a hair's-breadth from the principles of justice and righteousness. The final triumph of the anti-slavery cause is, we hope, near at hand; but much remains to be done before we can lay off our armor. And when slavery has been abolished, other moral issues will be presented, other reforms arise, to test the courage and devotion of the new generation. The men and the women who have conducted the anti-slavery movement from its small beginning almost to the day of its triumph, will soon pass away; but the principles they have advocated will not perish, but live to inspire the devotion of succeeding generations to the end of time.

I listen always with satisfaction to those who exhort us to fidelity, to those who set before us work to be done, and exhort us to faithfulness in its performance. In all that our friend Foster has said here to-day upon that point, I have sympathized with him. But let me say, in all frankness, that there is one particular in which I cannot agree with him. Through his whole speech ran the assumption, as it seemed to me, that his fellow-laborers here are ready to lay off their armor, regarding their work as done. Has anything been said here to justify such an assumption? I think not. Has he proposed any work, for the performance of which we are not, one and all, ready to strike hands with him? We are girding ourselves anew for the work before us, and we will not throw down our weapons till the last slave is free (applause). But I, for one, find Hope the best stimulus to labor. I shrink instinctively from the dark shadow which some of our friends would throw over us, when they affirm that, notwithstanding all that we have done for thirty years, the country is in a worse condition, in regard to the principles of universal liberty, than it was at the close of the Revolutionary war. If I believed that, I should utterly despair of the cause. "We are saved by Hope," says an Apostle, and I believe it. The cheering signs which greet us on every hand, betokening the speedy triumph of our cause, fill me with hopefulness, augmenting my power to work and my joy therein.

Have we indeed done nothing in these thirty years? Are we no nearer the end than we were at the beginning? Is this nation to-day in no better position than it was thirty years ago, when this Society was first formed? How can anybody think so, in view of the facts by which we are surrounded? Take the press of this city for illustration. Thirty years ago, the men who formed this Society assembled in this city almost by stealth, and held their meetings in the daytime, warned by the police that they could not be protected at night. There was not a newspaper here that would report their proceedings—not one that did not denounce them as "fanatics" and "amalgamationists," as men who were bent on the destruction of their country. How is it to-day? Every press in the city sends its reporters to our platform, and our proceedings are reported fairly and honorably. In this circumstance alone we have an indication of a wonderful improvement in the public sentiment.

It is said that, after all, the people are selfish—that they have not relinquished their hostility to the anti-slavery cause from pure love of principle, but for their own interest. But is it not a sign of progress when men who have long resisted our movement have at last discovered that its claims are coincident with their worldly interest? Saints—perfect people—do not travel in regiments; and if I thought the slaves could not be emancipated before the mass of the people are brought up to the standard of absolute justice and righteousness, I should expect them to grind in the prison-house for centuries. No good cause has ever triumphed, except through influences and motives as various and mixed as those now operating in our country for the overthrow of slavery. If men preach the gospel of freedom, even though it be for strife and contention, shall we not rejoice? If they have formed a purpose to abolish slavery rather from a regard to their own interest than from love for the slave, shall we not thank God and take courage?

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH.—What does it indicate in regard to the position of our cause, that selfishness should incline any man to seem to favor it? Is it not a sign of progress and triumph?

Speech of James N. Buffum.

JAMES N. BUFFUM said: You assigned me the duty of collecting the money, instead of speaking, but I am inclined to endorse the last speech, and to say Amen to brother Johnson. Perhaps my experience as a business man is worth something. You know, sir, that I have been deeply interested in this cause for the last 32 years. Although it was not my privilege to sign the Declaration, I have often wished it had been. I was only prevented by illness. I glory in the fact that I was an Abolitionist before the signing of that Declaration; and I would give the best hundred dollars that I possess if my name were there. As I go about among business men that formerly hated me, I find them cordial, and expressing their approbation of my sentiments, and avowing themselves Abolitionists. I feel encouraged, and it is a marvel to me to see the change.

While our friend Abby Kelley Foster was speaking this morning, there were a thousand facts rushing into my mind showing progress. One I may mention, of an individual who, about two years ago, stood upon the platform of a John Brown meeting with a pistol in his hand, threatening death to the Abolitionists. A few days ago, he came out in a letter, in which he gloried in this war because, first, it was to save the nation's life, and secondly because it was going to end in a higher civilization; and above all, he gloried that the African was now able to vindicate his freedom in arms.

I met a venerable man, a short time ago, one of our wealthiest citizens, who always contended against the principles which I entertain, and he said to me, "Mr. Buffum, are you aware that everybody is coming up to your platform?" "No, I was not aware of that; but I know they will do it." "Well, it is a fact, and the nation has got to carry out your principles, and there is no other salvation for it." I was equally astonished the other day, in going down State street in Boston, to meet a gentleman who, a short time ago, as he confessed, was in favor of putting down the Abolitionists, and he said, "Do you know that there was a great anti-slavery meeting held at the Merchants' Exchange?" "No." Well, now, the Merchants' Exchange is the headquarters of all the wealthy merchants of Boston, and there they are holding anti-slavery meetings, and they have turned the place into an anti-slavery lecture room! Frederick Douglass was delivering one of his strongest anti-slavery lectures, and this man was among the audience listening.

I say it is marvellous how this anti-slavery cause is going on. I look at it, and thank God and take courage.

THE PRESIDENT.—Those who think we have not made much progress remind me of the story of the man in the Deluge, who, after everything had been submerged, as the ark came floating by, came splurging up in the midst of the waters and tried to get in. Failing in this, he said with disgust, "Go to thunder with your old ark; it is not much of a shower after all." And now when the fountains of the great deep are broken up, and slavery is going under, and the Ark of Liberty is floating triumphantly, we are soon to have the dove go forth, and the ark shall rest on Mount Ararat, and those that have kept the covenant shall come forth, and the land shall be redeemed forever.

Speech of Lucy Stone.

LUCY STONE said: It is because there is anti-slavery work left to be done that any of us should be speaking here to-day, or asking for help in the work. I believe that those who have spoken upon the two sides, that much is to be done, and that much has been done, are both equally right. It cannot be that those who have toiled thirty years in such a work as this, who have stood on this platform until they have grown old and gray, and especially in the midst of a strife where our fathers and brothers, husbands and sons are being slaughtered by thousands, will cease to labor while that strife goes on, though it may not seem to require much labor on our part to make the last death rattle of slavery sound in its throat. When I sat here yesterday and heard the speakers giving an account of the first meeting of the Society, and heard one speaker say of James Mott that in that early day his hair was untouched by the gray, I thought, I have only known him since his head was covered with white, but thank God I have known him so long. And Mr. Garrison's hair was not then thinned, making him to look like the prophet Elisha. But these men were all young and earnest when they pledged themselves to go on with this work and never to cease. I thank God for them; and I concur in the ground that they take, that much remains to be done. Prejudice against the negro is to be overcome; for slavery is let down deeper in the hearts of the people of this country than they themselves know. We see a great deal of opposition to slavery, and it is wonderful to see the change. But it is very much like the water in Niagara river, which goes along because it cannot help it, and not because it wants to. It may be because I live in New Jersey, in the midst of a nest of Copperheads, where my next door neighbor believes that men ought to be bought and sold, and tells me frankly to my face that he believes it; but I cannot help feeling that there is a great deal of pro-slavery sentiment yet to be rooted out. We all need to work for it.

And when we see what our friends Susan B. Anthony and Mrs. Stanton are doing in New York, almost without aid; seeing that there is need of a law to abolish slavery, lest there should be any misunderstanding; seeing that the Constitution, rightly interpreted, meant anti-slavery, while the Supreme Court said there was no anti-slavery about it—asking for a law so plain that it cannot be mistaken; to say that there shall be no slavery nor involuntary servitude anywhere in all these United States; when we see our friends trying to obtain a million of names to a petition for such a law, is there nothing to be done on the part of woman? Men may vote; but I shall never forget, unless it ceases to be a fact, that women have no such possibility of expression. We are not allowed to vote; but we may petition, and by and by they will hear. Send these petitions by hundreds and thousands into your villages and hamlets, and let the returns be as numerous as they ought to be; for I know there are a great many young girls who may not have an opportunity to work in other ways, and boys not old enough to vote, who will be glad to have the opportunity to do something, and they can circulate these petitions. I remember that an old man told me once that if I came to him again with such a petition—it was for a law allowing colored people and whites to intermarry—he would ride me on a rail. I went every year, was never carried on a rail, and his wife always signed the petition. By and by we can put all these petitions together, when we have got all the names we can, and carry them in a large roll to Congress; and there will be men there brave enough and true enough to be willing to present them. And if what we do shall bring about the result we seek, in aid of the President's proclamation, and there shall be a law passed, that there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in any part of the United States, how thankful we shall be! The youngest boy and the youngest girl, as well as the oldest man and woman, may thank God and rejoice that they have assisted in making this a free country.

Speech of Mrs. Frances D. Gage.

MRS. GAGE said: Ladies and Gentlemen: On my lone little isle of the sea (Paris Island, S. C.), I have hardly had the opportunity of reading newspapers, or knowing what course the current of events at the North was taking; and I confess that I have listened to the remarks here yesterday and to-day with some surprise. I did not suppose there was any one interested in anti-slavery at the North that had not faith enough to see through all that is going on to-day, and to believe that slavery is coming to an end. Why, old Sophy, at her cabin door, would teach you better faith than I have heard here from some to-day. She came to see me after the battle of Fredericksburg, where some of my kindred fell, and found me weeping. "Missis, what makes you cry, honey? This isn't a nigger war; it isn't a secesh war; it is God's war; it will all come out right." And old Sophy and the great hearts of the race have taught us faith, until it is now unwavering. We need not listen for the words of Mr Seward, or to learn what the men at Washington are doing. We can learn a better wisdom, while they are thinking of it; and when we speak our hearts strongly enough, they will respond. Let us be like the Western boys on the Lookout Mountain; when our commander at Washington tells us to take the rifle-pits at the bottom of the mountain, and we have taken them, let us, with enthusiasm, with our knapsacks on our backs, move onward and upward until we take the batteries at the top, without waiting to talk about having nothing to do. We have a grand work to do. If, as some of our friends say, Mr Seward makes a better speech after the election than before it, let us compel him to continue to make better speeches until he makes them right (applause).

I have seen better evidence than anything here, that slavery is coming to an end. I have stood surrounded by black men and women, not picked men, but black men crushed down as low as South Carolina could crush them, and that is saying as much as any one can say; I have seen them self-sustaining, putting money into their banks, to supply their own needs. And I have seen the women staying behind to till the cotton and the corn, and sending their husbands and sons to the battle-field to fight for liberty. And do you think this great hope is ready to roll back? As well attempt to put the oak back into the acorn, or turn Niagara back upon its fountains. I tell you nay. Whatever the politicians may do, if the people are faithful, the end must come, and that end shall be universal freedom.

And now, with regard to those petitions that have been presented to you to-day, sign them and circulate them with a hearty good will. If you can do nothing else in your neighborhood, you can circulate these petitions. And when the women of this country shall give expression to their private home feelings through these petitions, there is no power at Washington strong enough to resist the influence. A million of women, asking for the emancipation of all the slaves of this Union, will be a larger power than this country has been in the habit of thinking women possessed. Work faithfully, earnestly, unfalteringly, and the end will come, and we shall sing hallelujahs over a country redeemed, where no slave sighs in bondage, and no mother gives birth to a slave.

THE PRESIDENT read a letter from John Jolliffe, Esq., formerly of Cincinnati, now of Washington, written in the expectation that he might not be able to attend the meeting. Having read the letter, the President continued: The name of Mr. Jolliffe must be very familiar to a large number in this audience. He has been a distinguished lawyer of Cincinnati, and for a good many years he has interposed at all times, whenever needed, in behalf of the fugitive slave. His life has been imperilled; he has been hunted by the bloodhounds of slavery, and he has won for himself the esteem and love of the friends of freedom everywhere. Yesterday I was told that he would not probably be with us, but I am happy to-day to be able to introduce him to you.

Speech of John Jolliffe.

JOHN JOLLIFFE said: I did not come here with any expectation of speaking, but to have my heart cheered by what I should hear. I am glad, however, to have an opportunity of standing here to speak to this audience. If every slave were to be emancipated to-morrow, we should have enough work to do to keep us busy for a hundred years. The effects of slavery will remain long after every slave has been emancipated. This people have all to be educated up to the standard God intended they should occupy in his creation. This is our hardest work. It is missionary work, as much so as that of any foreign missionary enterprise ever conducted in this country. I have no faith, as a general rule, in politicians. They are only the exponents of the public will. This little band of twenty or thirty men have done this mighty work. Abraham Lincoln's proclamation was not one that came, as I believe, from his heart. It was one that he was impelled to issue by the force of public opinion behind him. And if we want other proclamations of freedom, or other great enterprises successively, we must labor with renewed diligence, and they will be accomplished. If so much has been done by thirty or forty people in Massachusetts, and scattered in different parts of the United States, how much more can be done when we have a hundred thousand Abolitionists to aid in the work? The whole army of the North-west are Abolitionists, and they speak against slavery in words so harsh that Mr. Garrison would never utter them.

Mr. GARRISON.—I was told that, last evening one man, who had always been conservative, left the meeting in consequence of the tameness of my remarks. He could not stand it.

J. MILLER MCKIM, from the Business Committe, reported the following resolution and memorial, which were adopted by a unanimous vote; the memorial to be signed by the President and other officers of the Society, and forwarded to the bodies to which it is addressed.

Resolved, That, as the voice of the people is heard through petitions to Congress, this Convention earnestly recommend that this voice be raised in petitions for an amendment of the Constitution, *forever prohibiting slavery* within the limits of the United States.

MEMORIAL

To the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress assembled.

The American Anti-Slavery Society, assembled in its Third Decade Meeting, in the City of Philadelphia, respectfully petitions your honorable body so to amend the Constitution that slavery shall be forever prohibited within the limits of the United States.

Speech of Rev. Samuel J. May.

Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY said: I occupied the time yesterday with reminiscences; not that I am disposed to look back, in the great work upon which we are now engaged, for I see how much remains to be done. My eyes are intently fixed forward; and far from putting off the anti-slavery armor, I feel that we should buckle it closer to our bodies, our hearts, and our souls, and resolve that we will not give over the work we have commenced until not only slavery is abolished, but until all that can be done to repair the damages caused by slavery to the population of our country, black and white, shall be done. That is the work to which we were called. I think there has been discouragement in some minds, because they have not fully appreciated what has been done, and have not been earnest enough in behalf of what yet remains to be done. Of course I have not been satisfied with all that the President of the United States has done. But I consider what he was at the commencement of his administration, and believe he was honest. He was on a very low plane on this subject; but he has risen, and recently faster than the people. I believe he is ready and willing and rejoiced to rise even to the very summit of this great work. Has he not said, "I am the servant of the people? If the people want emancipation, why do they not demand it?" Who for a moment believes that our President, notwithstanding the incubus that I think hangs on him in the person of the Secretary of State, will lift a finger to hinder the progress of this cause? He must, however, in all good conscience, do only what, at the moment that he does it, seems to him to be right and proper. I have watched his course; and though I have been impatient with him, yet have I never seen anything which has impaired my confidence in his intentions. I believe that he desires and intends to do right. Let us then go on in the work which we commenced thirty years ago, educating the people, and the officials of the people—the President himself, if he needs instruction—until he shall be brought to see the truth, the great truth that was radiated upon this nation in its birth, and which our fathers declared to be self-evident, but which has been so obscured that some of the prominent men in the country have dared to pronounce that part of the Declaration of Independence a "glittering generality"; and the people were not horrified at the utterance as they should have been, rising with one accord to denounce him.

We have had a great work to do, and although much remains to be done, God be praised that we have done something. And although we did not succeed, as we verily thought we should succeed, in averting what we clearly saw to be inevitable, if we could not accomplish what we undertook, a civil and a servile war; although we have not been so successful in our labors as to avert that horrible calamity, may we not rejoice that God, in his long-suffering and tender mercy, is with us as a nation—a nation guilty beyond all other nations that ever lived, because our opportunities, our privileges, and our light have all been greater than have been afforded to any other people? Have we not reason to be grateful, that God, after his long-suffering and tender mercy, has at last come down in his just judgment, and taken this work in his own hands? There is no part of the history of our race, in all time past, that seems to me to indicate the hand of the Almighty more distinctly than we see it in his dealings with our nation to-day! For nothing do I ever give thanks to Almighty God more heartily than for this, that he will not permit the children of men to sin with impunity. Never have I offered a prayer, since I entered the pulpit, that the consequences of our sin might be averted from us. I have only asked that we might be relieved from our sins. If we throw them not off ourselves, then will I thank God for the chastisements by which he removes them from us. So that now, while I am filled with grief, and my heart is harrowed continually at the reports which come to us of the sufferings of our fellow-men who have been sent into the battle-field, yet, nevertheless, I give thanks that, having sinned as we have done, sinned beyond the day of grace, he is now in the day of visitation and of judgment, and that this great work, which we in such earnestness of heart commenced thirty years ago, will be accomplished by his Almighty aid. Without more delay, it shall be done, and done thoroughly.

Let us, then, come up by hundreds, and thousands, and tens of thousands, and petition the Congress of the United States, and demand the abolition of slavery throughout the country. Now is the day, and now is the hour. Necessity requires what justice has long called for. Necessity knows no law, no constitution. Necessity will impel us, not merely to give liberty to those who have been the subjects of rebels, but to give liberty to all, knowing, as we do by such bitter experience, that slavery, tolerated any where in the country, must be a root of bitterness that shall ere long spring up and produce evils certainly not less than those which we now witness. Let us go, then, to the government of our country, and assure them that never while we live, or while those live whom we have inspired with a feeling like ours, shall the anti-slavery agitation of our country cease, so long as there is slavery in the land. I would not say this as a mere threat, but as our conviction of a solemn duty. We did not espouse this cause as a mere matter of preference or choice. We were impelled to it by a solemn sense of obligation; and that obligation will not cease until the unparalleled iniquity of American slavery is forever and entirely abolished in every part of our land.

ORSON S. MURRAY expressed his belief that Mr. and Mrs. Foster had been misapprehended by those who had spoken in reply to them. A great work was to be done to build up a correct public sentiment at the North; and while we turn our attention so much to what has already been accomplished, there is danger of overlooking the great work yet to be done.

Speech of Andrew T. Foss.

ANDREW T. FOSS said: I feel very unwilling to ask you, after listening so long to excellent speeches, to hear what I have to say; and yet I want to say a few words. If there is anything in this world I am covetous of, it is anti-slavery fame. I do not care about any other, but I want that. I want my fame to stand connected with the anti-slavery movement, as far as possible. If I have no other legacy to leave the only child that is spared me, I want to leave an anti-slavery reputation. I was not a signer of the Declaration of Sentiments made in this place thirty years ago; but I can say, with friend Buffum, that I wish I had been. He thinks he would be willing to pay a hundred dollars. I would give ten years of my life, and that is about all I have to hope for, if I had been a signer of that declaration. But although I was not a signer of that Declaration, I was in the field before that.

The first thing I ever heard of anti-slavery was Mr. Garrison's pamphlet, "Thoughts on Colonization." I had at that time a colonization agent in my house, whom I was expecting to preach for me the next Sunday; but I was compelled to say to him, What shall I do? I agree entirely with the views of this pamphlet. But I told him, I will let you preach for me on one condition; and that is that you will let me reply to you. On no other condition will I consent, for from this time henceforth I am an immediate, unconditional Abolitionist. I believe that I was born so; for I have no knowledge of any conviction or of any conversion. The moment I heard this gospel of truth I accepted it. But I did not feel like entering directly upon this as the great work of my life. That was the ministry, to which I had been ordained; but I intended to preach the everlasting gospel, and as much anti-slavery as the gospel would afford. So I wrote me an anti-slavery sermon, I believe the first ever delivered in New Hampshire, and delivered it with the hope that it would be popular. I prepared the sermon with more interest than I had ever felt in writing a sermon before; and I waited the next Sunday morning with the utmost impatience for the bell to ring, and when it rung it seemed to me that it would ring forever. The words of the Lord were shut up like fire in my bones, and I wanted to give them utterance. I went into my pulpit and had a crowded audience. I expected to get a hearty response from them. I had a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State sitting in the broad aisle, and I thought that when I got along a little way I should look down and see the Judge nodding his head and looking smilingly upon me. But in about fifteen minutes I looked down, and the Judge, instead of smiling approbation, looked as if he was about to pass sentence of death upon me. I was disappointed. But I said, I have put my hand to the plow, and I will plow this furrow out at any rate. And so, from that day to this, I have been trying to do what I could for anti-slavery. For twenty years I tried to bring the Baptist Church, its Bible Societies, Missionary Societies, and Tract Societies, upon the true ground upon the anti-slavery question, until I gained the reputation of being a disturber of Zion. But at last I came to the conclusion that I could free the Baptist Church, and all other Churches, faster outside of them than I could in them. It seemed as if I could get a better hold of them outside; and so, for the last ten years, I have been outside of the Church. And if the Church stands higher to-day than she did thirty years ago, I lay the unction to my soul that I have lifted some ounces towards getting her up. I am full of hope and expectation. I may be disappointed, as I have been two or three times in my life. But I have never been disappointed when I have placed my faith in Almighty God, and I shall not be now. We are to see slavery end at some time, and the only question is how soon, and by what instrumentality? I believe it will end by the hand of this war. I believe that when the last rebel is either dead or subdued—and God grant that one or the other may take place soon—there will not be a slave clanking his chain in all this land. It may be assumption for me to say that all this is as clear to me as the sunlight; but if I cannot give any better reason for it, I will give that of Milly, in Mrs. Stowe's Dred, that "I feel it in my bones." I know there is a great work to be done. I feel that I am doing it, and I mean to keep doing until the last labor is accomplished. But I must have this encouragement to cheer me up as I move around in the work, to believe that every blow is effectual, and counts for the truth at last. We are getting near the end, and I expect to live to see slavery abolished. I mean to be at the great jubilee, wherever it is holden; and I suppose that will be all over the land, everywhere. I said, a little while ago, that I was about ready to die; but a friend says there are a hundred years work to do, and so I think I will live on and labor on until the last effort that human nature is capable of putting forth shall be finished. Then will be the right time to die; and I promise you that I will die when my time comes. Now I bid you farewell, and invite you all to be present with me at the jubilee, which is near at our doors.

Speech of Stephen S. Foster.

STEPHEN S. FOSTER said: If I have not made a good speech myself, I have at least been the occasion of half a dozen good speeches. Last evening a professed phrenologist came to me and asked the privilege of putting his hands for a few moments on my head. He wanted to ascertain the cerebral developments of such a peculiar man. I assented, and when I reached my quarters he was waiting for me. After feeling of my head a while in silence, he said: "Mr. Foster, I am very much surprised. I expected to find Combativeness and Destructiveness very large in your head. On the contrary, I find them exceedingly small." Now, I think that gentleman was not the only one mistaken in this Convention. You have represented me to this audience as living in a cloud. That is news to me. It is news, I am sure, to my wife, who thinks I shall upset everything, I have so little caution. I always look at things from the brightest side, and I supposed I always lived in the sunlight. Our friend Foss stands here to-day in the sunshine of hope. I never saw a day in which I did not believe I should live to see slavery dead and buried out of sight; because I meant to take such care of my physical constitution that I should outlive this monster. I calculate upon attending the funeral of slavery, and will preach the sermon, if some of my associates do not live to do it. I expect to pronounce my malediction there with a full and overflowing heart.

There is a principle always guiding me to be with the minority. I have always felt that my place is with the minority, defending the weak point. When you were desponding, I preached hope to such an extent that I was called a hair-brained enthusiast. How many times have my friends cautioned me upon this platform against such excessive hope. And why? Because nobody else was hopeful. But now, when you were all overflowing with hope, in Heaven's name, was there any harm that one man should look around to see if there are any breakers ahead, and to warn you that it is not yet time to lay off your armor? Suppose there are no breakers ahead; will it do you any harm to be watchful and vigilant? Does my preaching lull you to inactivity? But in the hurry this morning, crowding into fifteen minutes a speech of two hours and a half, I inadvertently said that if any of you were disposed to return from the conflict, I was not; and that by implication was regarded as a censure. In the first place, I did not intend it as a censure. If you can serve the anti-slavery cause better off the platform, then go, and my heart goes with you. But for one I have confidence in the instrumentalities we have used these thirty years, and my motto is still, "No union with slaveholders." No union with the United States government, so long as a slave treads the American soil. That is my position. If you do not like this kind of armor, lay it off and go somewhere else, and my heart and hand shall go with you. If you are battling with slavery upon the field of blood, you are not on my platform. That was an aggressive weapon, that we repudiated at the outset; and we pledged ourselves never to use it. I cast, therefore, no reflections upon those who have left our platform, or resort to this mode of warfare; but for one I will continue as I ever have done. I do not censure any one who works not upon our platform; but it ought to be known to us—it was not known to our friend May, or he would not have said there was not a member of the Executive Committee or prominent member of the Society that was disposed to retire from this warfare—that there are members of the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society who are decidedly opposed to carrying on this warfare any longer as we have done, and think that our sending forth anti-slavery agents would do more harm than good. I do not question the anti-slavery integrity of those friends. They have my fullest confidence, so far as their moral and anti-slavery worth is concerned. I only say that they differ from me as to instrumentalities. I think that if we are the "sacramental host of God's elect," we should stand together on this platform; but while I prefer to labor here, I will give my heart and hand to any friend that will labor anywhere else in our cause.

THOMAS WHITSON said: This has been an interesting meeting to me; and the reason you have not heard from me has been that all I wanted to say has been so much better said by others.

The Society adjourned until 7 p.m.

[CONTINUED ON SECOND PAGE.]

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